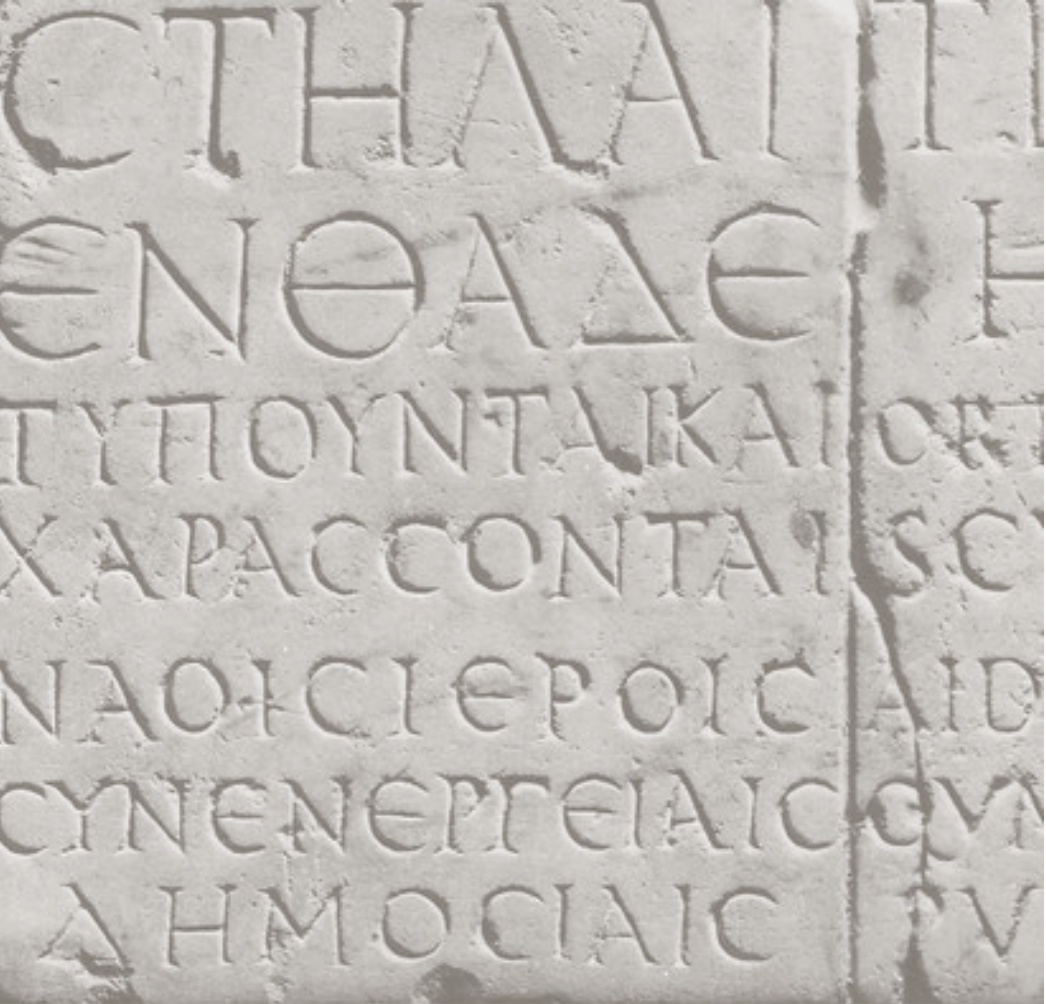




CAMBRIDGE CLASSICAL STUDIES

*Language and Linguistic
Contact in Ancient Sicily*

EDITED BY
OLGA TRIBULATO

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Language and Linguistic Contact in Ancient Sicily

Within the field of ancient bilingualism, Sicily represents a unique terrain for analysis as a result of its incredibly rich linguistic history, in which ‘colonial’ languages belonging to branches as diverse as Italic (Oscan and Latin), Greek and Semitic (Phoenician) interacted with the languages of the natives (the elusive Sikel, Sicanian and Elymian). The result of this ancient melting-pot was a culture characterized by ‘post-colonial’ features such as ethnic hybridity, multilingualism and artistic and literary experimentation. While Greek soon emerged as the leading language, dominating official communication and literature, epigraphic sources and indirect evidence show that the minority languages held their ground down to the fifth century BC, and in some cases beyond. The first two parts of the volume discuss these languages and their interaction with Greek, while the third part focuses on the sociolinguistic revolution brought about by the arrival of the Romans.

OLGA TRIBULATO is Research Fellow in Greek language and literature at Ca’ Foscari University, Venice. She has published on Greek morphology and dialectology, ancient scientific language, literary dialects and epigraphy, and co-edited (with Coulter George, Matthew McCullagh, Benedicte Nielsen and Antonia Ruppel) *Greek and Latin from an Indo-European Perspective* (2007).

CAMBRIDGE CLASSICAL STUDIES

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LANGUAGE AND LINGUISTIC CONTACT IN
ANCIENT SICILY

Edited by

OLGA TRIBULATO

Research Fellow in Greek language and literature at Ca' Foscari University, Venice



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CONTENTS

<i>List of maps</i>	page vii
<i>List of figures</i>	viii
<i>Notes on contributors</i>	x
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	xiii
<i>Editor's note</i>	xv
<i>List of abbreviations</i>	xvi

‘So many Sicilies’: Introducing language and linguistic contact in ancient Sicily	I
<i>Olga Tribulato</i>	

Part I: Non-classical languages

1 Language relations in Sicily: Evidence for the speech of the Σικανοί, the Σικελοί and others	49
<i>Paolo Poccetti</i>	
2 The Elymian language	95
<i>Simona Marchesini</i>	
3 Phoenician and Punic in Sicily	115
<i>Maria Giulia Amadasi Guzzo</i>	
4 Oscan in Sicily	132
<i>James Clackson</i>	
5 Traces of language contact in Sicilian onomastics: Evidence from the Great Curse of Selinous	149
<i>Gerhard Meiser</i>	
6 Coins and language in ancient Sicily	162
<i>Oliver Simkin</i>	

CONTENTS

Part II: Greek

- 7 Sicilian Greek before the fourth century BC: An
overview of the dialects 191
Susana Mimbrera
- 8 The Sicilian Doric koina 223
Susana Mimbrera
- 9 Intimations of koine in Sicilian Doric: The
information provided by the *Antiatticist* 251
Albio Cesare Cassio
- 10 'We speak Peloponnesian': Tradition and linguistic
identity in post-classical Sicilian literature 265
Andreas Willi

Part III: Latin

- 11 *Siculi bilingues?* Latin in the inscriptions of early
Roman Sicily 291
Olga Tribulato
- 12 Sicily in the Roman Imperial period:
Language and society 326
Kalle Korhonen
- References* 370
- General index* 412
- Index of words in other languages* 416
- Index locorum* 420

MAPS

- | | | |
|---|---|--------------------------|
| 1 | Map of Sicily with prehistoric, Sicanian, Sicel and Greek sites | <i>page</i> xxiii |
| 2 | Map of Sicily with Greek and Elymian sites | xxiv |
| 3 | Map of Sicily with Greek, Phoenician and Punic sites | xxv |

FIGURES

2.1	Example of figure on Elymian vase inscriptions. From Agostiniani (1977: Fig. 4). Photo courtesy of Leo S. Olschki Publisher and Luciano Agostiniani.	<i>page 98</i>
2.2	Example of non-alphabetic sign on Elymian vase inscriptions. From Agostiniani (1977: Fig. 38). Photo courtesy of Leo S. Olschki Publisher and Luciano Agostiniani.	98
2.3	Example of mark on Elymian vase inscriptions. From Agostiniani (1977: Fig. 82). Photo courtesy of Leo S. Olschki Publisher and Luciano Agostiniani.	99
2.4	Example of numerals in Elymian vase inscriptions. From Agostiniani (1977: Fig. 84). Photo courtesy of Leo S. Olschki Publisher and Luciano Agostiniani.	99
2.5	Example of a longer text on Elymian vase inscriptions. From Agostiniani (1977: Fig. 323b). Photo courtesy of Leo S. Olschki Publisher and Luciano Agostiniani.	99
2.6	Elymian alphabet used in longer texts.	101
2.7	Elymian alphabet used in shorter texts.	102
2.8	Elymian alphabet used in coin legends.	103
2.9	Elymian seriation chart (from Marchesini 2009: table XV). Courtesy of Hoepli Publisher, Milan.	106
2.10	Alphabet from Selinous.	108
6.1	AR Tetradrachm of Gela, c.480–470 BC. Photo courtesy of Classical Numismatic Group, www.cngcoins.com.	168
6.2	AR Drachm of Zancle, c.500–493 BC. Photo courtesy of Classical Numismatic Group, www.cngcoins.com.	168

LIST OF FIGURES

6.3	AR Litra of Akragas with reverse inscription $\Lambda\iota$, c.470–425 BC. Photo courtesy of Classical Numismatic Group, www.cngcoins.com .	171
6.4	Cast AE onkia of Akragas, c.450 BC. Photo courtesy of Classical Numismatic Group, www.cngcoins.com .	175
6.5	AE Tetras of Soluntum with bilingual Greek / Phoenician legends, c.400–350 BC. Photo courtesy of Classical Numismatic Group, www.cngcoins.com .	181
6.6	Siculo-Punic AR Tetradrachm with reverse legend <i>‘mmḥnt</i> , c.320–300 BC. Photo courtesy of Classical Numismatic Group, www.cngcoins.com .	181
6.7	AR Drachm of Naxos with reverse legend NAXION, c.461–430 BC. Photo courtesy of Classical Numismatic Group, www.cngcoins.com .	185
12.1	The relative proportions of Latin and Greek in pagan epitaphs and cognomina from six Sicilian cities.	331

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EDITOR'S NOTE

While all efforts have been made to ensure formatting consistency across the volume, linguistic transcriptions follow each author's preference. In particular, indigenous personal names and Greek dialectal forms are not provided with diacritics in some chapters (notably in [Chapters 1, 4, 5, 7 and 8](#)). The rendering of ancient toponyms is similarly free, in consideration of the facts that many sites are better known by their modern name and that Sicilian toponomastics underwent several changes in the period under study in the present volume: thus Akragas, Agrigentum and Agrigento are all possible variants of the same place name.

ABBREVIATIONS

General abbreviations

1sg.	First person singular
2sg.	Second person singular
acc. pl.	Accusative plural
Cyren.	Cyrenaean
gen. sg.	Genitive singular
inf.	Infinitive
masc.	Masculine
nom. sg.	Nominative singular
nom. pl.	Nominative plural
PIE	Proto-Indo-European

Bibliographical abbreviations

The citations of Greek and Latin authors follow the *LSJ* and the *TLL*, respectively; the journals, *L'Année philologique*.

Of epigraphic corpora and some other works and journals not included in *APh*, the following abbreviations are used:

<i>ACO</i> II	E. Schwartz (ed.), <i>Concilium universale Chalcedonense (Acta conciliorum oecumenicorum II)</i> (Berlin and Leipzig, 1933–8)
<i>AE</i>	<i>L'Année épigraphique</i>
<i>ANRW</i>	<i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt</i>
<i>Area elima I</i>	G. Nenci (ed.), <i>Giornate internazionali di studi sull'area elima (Gibellina 19–22 settembre 1991)</i> , 2 vols. (Pisa and Gibellina, 1992)

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<i>Area elima II</i>	<i>Atti delle seconde giornate internazionali di studi sull'area elima (Gibellina, 22–26 ottobre 1994), 3 vols. (Pisa and Gibellina, 1997)</i>
<i>Area elima III</i>	<i>Atti delle terze giornate internazionali di studi sull'area elima (Gibellina-Erice-Contessa Entellina, 23–26 ottobre 1997), 3 vols. (Pisa, 2000)</i>
<i>Area elima IV</i>	<i>Atti delle quarte giornate internazionali di studi sull'area elima (Erice, 1–4 dicembre 2000), 2 vols. (Pisa, 2003)</i>
<i>Area elima V</i>	M. A. Vaggioli (ed.), <i>Guerra e pace in Sicilia e nel Mediterraneo antico (VIII–III sec. a.C.): arte, prassi e teoria della pace e della guerra. Atti delle quinte giornate internazionali di studi sull'area elima e la Sicilia occidentale nel contesto mediterraneo (Erice, 12–15 ottobre 2003), 2 vols. (Pisa, 2006)</i>
<i>Area elima VI</i>	C. Ampolo (ed.), <i>Immagine e immagini della Sicilia e di altre isole del Mediterraneo antico: atti delle seste giornate internazionali di studi sull'area elima e la Sicilia occidentale nel contesto mediterraneo (Erice, 12–16 ottobre 2006), 2 vols. (Pisa, 2009)</i>
ASSir	<i>Archivio storico siracusano</i>
BE	<i>Bulletin épigraphique</i>
BTCG	<i>Bibliografia topografica della colonizzazione greca in Italia e nelle isole tirreniche (Pisa, Rome and Naples, 1977–)</i>
CAH	<i>The Cambridge Ancient History</i> , 2nd edn, 14 vols. (Cambridge, 1970–2000)
CEG	P. A. Hansen (ed.), <i>Carmina epigraphica graeca</i> , 2 vols. (Berlin and New York, 1983–9)

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<i>CIE</i>	<i>Corpus inscriptionum etruscarum</i> (Berlin, 1885–)
<i>CIL</i>	<i>Corpus inscriptionum latinarum</i> (Berlin, 1863–)
<i>CIS</i>	<i>Corpus inscriptionum semiticarum</i> (Paris, 1881–)
<i>DEG</i>	P. Chantraine, <i>Dictionnaire étimologique de la langue grecque: Histoire des mots</i> , 2 vols. (Paris, 1968–80)
<i>DKP</i>	K. Ziegler, W. Sontheimer and H. Gärtner (eds.), <i>Der Kleine Pauly: Lexikon der Antike in fünf Bänden</i> , 5 vols. (Munich, 1979)
<i>EE</i>	W. Henzen (ed.), <i>Ephemeris Epigraphica. Corporis inscriptionum latinarum supplementum</i> vol. VIII (Berlin, 1899)
<i>Elimi ed area elima</i>	<i>Gli elimi e l'area elima fino all'inizio della prima guerra punica: atti del seminario di studi (Palermo-Contessa Entellina, 25–28 maggio 1989)</i> (Palermo, 1990)
<i>Epigrafia e ordine</i>	<i>Atti del colloquio internazionale AIEGL su epigrafia e ordine senatorio (Roma, 14–20 maggio 1981)</i> (Rome, 1982)
<i>ET</i>	H. Rix, F. Kouba and G. Meiser (eds.), <i>Etruskische Texte</i> , 2 vols. (Tübingen, 1991)
<i>FD III</i>	E. Bourguet et al. (eds.), <i>Fouilles de Delphes</i> vol. III: <i>Épigraphie</i> (Paris, 1909–85).
<i>Ferrua, NG</i>	see Ferrua (1989)
<i>FGH</i>	F. Jacoby (ed.), <i>Fragmente der griechischen Historiker</i> (Berlin, 1923–)
<i>Forme di contatto</i>	<i>Forme di contatto e processi di trasformazione nelle società antiche</i> (<i>Modes de contacts et processus de</i>

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

	<i>transformation dans les sociétés anciennes): atti del convegno di Cortona (24–30 maggio 1981) (Pisa and Rome, 1983)</i>
GLO	<i>Graecolatina et Orientalia</i>
Gloss. Italiot.	<i>Glossarium Italicum</i> . In Kassel and Austin (2001: 303–32)
Gonnoi	B. Helly (ed.), <i>Gonnoi II: les inscriptions</i> (Amsterdam, 1973)
IAS	see Agostiniani (1977)
IC	M. Guarducci (ed.), <i>Inscriptiones creticae opera et consilio Friderici Halbherr collectae</i> , 4 vols. (Rome 1935–50)
ID	<i>L'Italia dialettale</i>
IDélos	F. Durrbach et al. (eds.), <i>Inscriptions de Délös</i> (Paris, 1926–)
IG	<i>Inscriptiones graecae</i> (Berlin, 1873–)
IGChrEg	G. Lefebvre (ed.), <i>Recueil des inscriptions grecques chrétiennes d'Égypte</i> (Cairo, 1907)
IGDS I	see Dubois (1989)
IGDS II	see Dubois (2008)
IGLLipari	L. Bernabò Brea, M. Cavalier and L. Campagna (eds.), <i>Meligunìs Lipára</i> vol. XII: <i>Le iscrizioni lapidarie greche e latine delle isole Eolie</i> (Palermo, 2003)
IGLMessina	see Bitto (2001)
IGPalermo	see Manni Piraino (1973)
IGUR	L. Moretti (ed.), <i>Inscriptiones graecae urbis Romae</i> , 2 vols. (Rome, 1968–73)
IL Afr	R. Cagnat et al. (eds.), <i>Inscriptions latines d'Afrique (Tripolitaine, Tunisie, Maroc)</i> (Paris, 1923)
ILLRP	A. Degrassi (ed.), <i>Inscriptiones latinae liberae rei publicae</i> , 2 vols. (Florence, 1963–5)

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<i>ILN</i>	<i>Inscriptions latines de Narbonnaise</i> (Paris, 1985–)
<i>ILPalermo</i>	see Bivona (1970)
<i>ILTermini</i>	see Bivona (1994)
<i>IM</i>	O. Kern (ed.), <i>Die Inschriften von Magnesia am Maeander</i> (Berlin, 1900 [1967])
<i>IMCCatania</i>	K. Korhonen (ed.), <i>Le iscrizioni del Museo Civico di Catania: storia delle collezioni – cultura epigrafica – edizione</i> (Helsinki, 2004)
<i>IPr.</i>	F. Hiller von Gaertringen (ed.), <i>Die Inschriften von Priene</i> (Berlin, 1906 [1968])
<i>IRCPace</i>	J. D’Encarnação (ed.), <i>Inscrições Romanas do Conventus Pacensis</i> (Coimbra, 1984)
<i>ISic.MG I</i>	see Arena (1996a)
<i>ISic.MG II</i>	see Arena (1992)
<i>ISic.MG II²</i>	see Arena (2002)
<i>ISic.MG III</i>	see Arena (1994)
<i>ISic.MG III</i>	see Arena (1996b)
<i>ISic.MG V</i>	see Arena (1998)
<i>K.-A.</i>	see Kassel and Austin (2001)
<i>KAI</i>	H. Donner and W. Röllig (eds.), <i>Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften, mit einem Beitrag von O. Rössler</i> , 2nd edn (Wiesbaden, 1966–)
<i>LGPN</i>	<i>Lexicon of Greek Personal Names</i> (Oxford, 1987–)
<i>LIV</i>	H. Rix (ed.), <i>Lexikon der indogermanischen Verben</i> , 1st edn (Wiesbaden, 1998)
<i>LIV²</i>	H. Rix (ed.), <i>Lexikon der indogermanischen Verben</i> , 2nd edn (Wiesbaden, 2001)
<i>LSJ</i>	H. G. Liddell, R. Scott and H. Stuart Jones (eds.), <i>A Greek-English Lexicon</i>

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

	<i>with a Revised Supplement</i> , 9th edn (Oxford, 1996)
<i>Megále Hellás</i>	<i>Megále Hellás, nome e immagine: atti del XXI convegno di studi sulla Magna Grecia (Taranto 2–5 ottobre 1981)</i> (Taranto, 1982)
<i>MiscManni</i>	Φιλίας χάριν: <i>miscellanea di studi classici in onore di Eugenio Manni</i> , 6 vols. (Rome, 1980)
NSA	<i>Atti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei: Notizie degli scavi d'antichità</i> . Rome: Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei.
PCG	R. Kassel and C. Austin (eds.) <i>Poetae comici graeci</i> (Berlin and New York, 1983–2001)
PHI	<i>Searchable Greek Inscriptions: The Packard Humanities Institute</i> . http://epigraphy.packhum.org/inscriptions/
<i>Popoli e civiltà</i>	M. Pallottino, G. Mansuelli, A. Prosdocimi and O. Parlangeli (eds.), <i>Popoli e civiltà dell'Italia antica</i> , 12 vols. (Rome, 1974–)
RE	G. Wissowa, W. Kroll, K. Mittelhaus and K. Ziegler (eds.), <i>Pauly's Real-encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft</i> (Stuttgart, 1893–1978)
RÉS	<i>Répertoire d'épigraphie sémitique</i> (Paris, 1907–)
RIChrM	D. Feissel (ed.), <i>Recueil des inscriptions chrétiennes de Macédoine du IIIe au VIe siècle</i> (Athens, 1983)
SEG	<i>Supplementum epigraphicum graecum</i>
ST	H. Rix, <i>Sabellische Texte: die Texte des Oskischen, Umbrischen und Südpikenischen</i> (Heidelberg, 2002)
<i>Suppl. It.</i>	<i>Supplementa Italica: nuova serie</i> (Rome, 1981–)

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<i>TC</i>	M. Segre (ed.), <i>Tituli Calymnii</i> , rev. edn. by Giovanni Pugliese Carratelli (Bergamo, 1952)
<i>ThLE</i>	E. Benelli (ed.), <i>Thesaurus linguae etruscae</i> , 2nd edn (Rome, 2009)
<i>TLL</i>	<i>Thesaurus linguae latinae</i>



Map 1 Map of
Sicily with
prehistoric,
Sicanian, Sicel
and Greek sites



Map 2 Map of
Sicily with Greek
and Elymian sites



Map 3 Map of
Sicily with Greek,
Phoenician and
Punic sites

‘SO MANY SICILIES’

Introducing language and linguistic contact in ancient Sicily

Olga Tribulato

Tante Sicilie, perché? Perché la Sicilia ha avuto la sorte ritrovarsi a far da cerniera nei secoli fra la grande cultura occidentale e le tentazioni del deserto e del sole, tra la ragione e la magia, le temperie del sentimento e le canicole della passione. Soffre, la Sicilia, di un eccesso d’identità, né so se sia un bene o sia un male.¹

G. Bufalino, *Cento Sicilie* (Milan, 2008)

Drawing the threads together

The contributions in this volume revolve around the idea of providing a linguistic history of ancient Sicily. All chapters across the three parts that make up the volume (I: Non-classical languages, II: Greek, III: Latin) follow two different criteria: firstly, we have attempted to provide comprehensive yet accessible introductions to the languages spoken in Sicily in Antiquity; then, the second set of contributions uses linguistic evidence for talking about language contact – and hence peoples and cultures.

In Part I, Paolo Poccetti’s careful reconsideration of the linguistic evidence for the identity of the elusive *Sikeloi* and *Sikanoi* (Chapter 1), Simona Marchesini’s outline of Elymian epigraphy and language (Chapter 2), Maria Giulia Amadasi Guzzo’s contribution on Phoenician and Punic (Chapter 3) and finally James Clackson’s discussion of Oscan at Messana (Chapter 4) all follow the same agenda: to provide a state-of-the-art discussion of these ancient languages while at the same time offering original insights or suggesting future lines of research. Basic descriptions of phonological and morphological features are combined with what may

¹ ‘Why “many Sicilies”? Because over the centuries Sicily has acted as a hinge between dominant Western culture and the allure of the desert and sun, between reason and magic, between emotional restraint and heated passions. Sicily is suffering from an excess of identity – which may be either a good or a bad thing.’

be termed a 'cultural' approach, whereby epigraphy is examined in the light of literature, history and archaeology, so as to locate the development of these languages within a wider framework. These contributions vary in terms of length, detail and the approaches adopted, as well as the subjects they address. Take the two ends of the spectrum: while Phoenician and Punic are so well-known as to enable an in-depth description of their linguistic and cultural status in Sicily, evidence for Elymian is scant and linguistically hard to pin down.

The two following sections of the volume are devoted to two widely investigated languages, Greek and Latin. The informative criterion adopted for the surveys in the first part of the book here gives way to a subtler approach that focuses on well-known linguistic facts in order to achieve a more-nuanced perspective on the specificity of Greek and Latin *within Sicily*. Susana Mimblera's contributions ([Chapters 7](#) and [8](#)) look at two consecutive periods in Sicilian Greek linguistic history: the dialectal phase and that of the Hellenistic Doric 'koina'. Sicily was settled by colonists from Ionic-speaking Euboea as well as colonists from various parts of the Doric world: classical Sicily is characterized by a steady dialectal convergence triggered by the political influence of Doric Gela and Syracuse. The latter's leading role in the island had paramount linguistic consequences, contributing as it did to the creation of a Doric 'koina', which thrived and competed with the Attic-Ionic koine down to the end of the Hellenistic period. The extent to which Rome's advent, from the third century BC onwards, changed Sicily's linguistic balance is a hot topic of debate. In Part III my own contribution ([Chapter 11](#)) seeks to provide a discussion of a wide range of Latin texts from early Roman Sicily without losing sight of the crucial negotiation that Latin had to undertake with dominant Greek.

These 'overview chapters' set the stage for the critical approaches developed in the remaining chapters of the volume. In Part I, Gerhard Meiser ([Chapter 5](#)) uses the minutiae of onomastic morphology as a springboard for forays into the intricate history of contacts between Greeks, Elymians and Sicels. The author acknowledges that Elymian identity played a considerable role among the lower strata of society in Selinous, an

informative snapshot of which is provided by curse tablet *IGDS I* 38. Oliver Simkin ([Chapter 6](#)), on the other hand, applies linguistic analysis to an informative but oft-neglected set of evidence, coin legends, in order to highlight patterns of linguistic continuity and change in archaic and classical Sicily. In Part II, Albio Cassio's study ([Chapter 9](#)) of the glosses in the second-century AD treatise *Antiatticist* – drawn from Epicharmus and other Sicilian playwrights – teaches us an important linguistic and literary lesson about the indebtedness of the koine to less prominent (i.e. lesser known) linguistic areas. The idea that the unique sociolinguistic setting of Sicily's colonial culture may have anticipated trends that affected the post-classical Hellenic world and that its literary and linguistic sources may therefore be used as an interpretative key to approach more universal issues in the history of Hellenism also prominently emerges from Andreas Willi's original interpretation of Theocritus' *Idyll* 15 ([Chapter 10](#)). In Part III, Kalle Korhonen's in-depth investigation of Greek–Latin bilingualism in Imperial Sicily shows how a now widely examined topic such as ancient bilingualism may still be given a nuanced treatment by focusing on specific case studies. As in all his previous works on Sicily's linguistic history, Korhonen here adopts a sociolinguistic approach to examine the concrete use of Greek and Latin in various social contexts (political and military life, religion and culture).

The present Introduction will draw together the conceptual and thematic threads running across the three sections of the volume and linking the two approaches highlighted above. But it will also further explore some of the topics discussed in the chapters, so as to point contemporary research on language and linguistic contact in ancient Sicily in a new direction.

Among all the topics and sub-fields which characterize research on ancient Sicily, I have given priority to archaeological and ethno-anthropological studies in the first part of the Introduction ('The history and archaeology of cultural contacts in Sicily: a few key questions'). The Introduction does not aim to reach any groundbreaking conclusions; rather, it is intended to provide a succinct overview, as a sort of 'Ariadne's thread' guiding the reader through the maze of topics that could not be fully investigated in the volume. Readers interested in specific historical

events in Sicilian history should be warned that these are not addressed in detail in the present Introduction. The second part of the Introduction ('Three corners of cultural contact: onomastics, literature and epigraphy') more closely focuses on fields related to language: onomastics and its relevance for ethno-linguistic analyses of Sicily; literature as a mirror of the island's unique colonial environment; and finally epigraphy and its statistical analysis as a further key to understanding Sicilian society.

I have refrained from providing a section on linguistic methodology, particularly bilingualism. There are two reasons for this. First, the existence of many recent studies of ancient bilingualism and multilingualism (Neumann and Untermann (1980); Campanile, Cardona and Lazzeroni (1988); Rochette (1997); Leiwo (1995); Adams, Swain and Janse (2003); Adams (2003); Biville, Decourt and Rogemont (2008); Cotton, Hoyland, Price and Wasserstein (2009); Rochette (2010); Papaconstantinou (2010); Mullen (forthcoming); Mullen and James (forthcoming); *inter alia*) would have made a section on this subject necessarily redundant.² Readers, therefore, are invited to turn to these works for an overview of the underlying topic of this volume, ancient multilingualism. Secondly, and more importantly, the individual chapters of this volume, with their diverse approaches to linguistic reconstruction, language contact and sociolinguistics, speak for themselves by providing the necessary background information, where this is needed (on bilingualism, see especially Chapters 11 and 12).

The history and archaeology of cultural contacts in Sicily: a few key questions

Looking back into the second millennium

Classicists' interest in ancient Sicily begins with the so-called Thapsos culture, from the eponymous site situated on the Magnisi peninsula north of Syracuse, which flourished between the fifteenth and the twelfth centuries BC (Map 1).³ This is not to say that no archaeological evidence exists for earlier periods, but these are

² Also see the bibliography collected in Fögen (2003). ³ De Angelis (2003: 1–4).

of minor significance for scholars keen on cultural and linguistic interaction.⁴ It all starts with Thapsos, as this is the first Sicilian culture to have had continuous contacts with the Aegean and the Near East.⁵ So much so, that – as we shall see below – it has attracted the attention of almost all scholars seeking to prove or disprove the idea of an early Greek (i.e. Mycenaean) presence in Sicily.

Scholars' interest in examining Bronze Age Sicily within the context of early Greek history can be easily gauged, based on the direction that studies on Thapsos have taken over the last century. Roughly until the 1990s, descriptions of Bronze Age Sicily amply followed the theoretical systematization suggested by the great scholar Luigi Bernabò Brea, an archaeologist with a solid background in classical philology who made the first pioneering attempts at a global description of Sicilian pre- and protohistory. According to Bernabò Brea, when the autochthonous Thapsos culture came to an abrupt end in the wake of the events that shook the Aegean and larger Mediterranean area around 1250 BC, what followed were 'Dark Ages' in which the site was abandoned in favour of more secure hilltop settlements.⁶ It was at this late stage that a new culture developed out of the Thapsos one at Pantalica, a secluded settlement on a plateau surrounded by canyons and located between the Anapo and Calcinara rivers.⁷ Bernabò Brea described the Sicilian 'Dark Ages' as a dangerous period marked by economic decline and incursions from peninsular Italy.⁸

The interpretative frame within which these events have been analysed is reminiscent of traditional accounts of Bronze Age (Late Helladic) continental Greece.⁹ According to the latter, the Mycenaean world, with its complex palatial economy and wide-ranging Mediterranean trade, abruptly collapsed because of external

⁴ One of the most accessible accounts of palaeolithic, mesolithic and neolithic Sicily is still that of Leighton (1999: 11–146).

⁵ Leighton (1999: 170–2). ⁶ For this terminology, see e.g. Bernabò Brea (1957: 136).

⁷ Bernabò Brea (1957: 151, 164) identified Pantalica with Hybla, the kingdom of the mythical Sicel ruler Hyblon. For a critique of Bernabò Brea's account, see e.g. S. Tusa (1994: 171–5), who interprets Pantalica as an indigenous ('Sicilian') settlement.

⁸ Bernabò Brea (1957: 136).

⁹ Parallels between Greece and Sicily are drawn by Pugliese Carratelli (1986b: 5) on the basis of Greek historical accounts.

factors,¹⁰ as violent outsiders (the 'Dorians') took over its civilization. In the wake of the 'Dorian' invasion, Greece entered a period known as the 'Dark Ages' that lasted up until the emergence of the *polis* and the introduction of the alphabet in the eighth century BC.

Just as the 'Dorian invasion' myth described by Greek historians has been connected to the decay of Mycenaean palatial culture, so the narrative concerning the Sicilian 'Dark Ages' has been linked to the invasion of an external people: the Sicels.¹¹ For a long time archaeologists have largely accepted the story of the Sikel invasion from peninsular Italy, as unanimously transmitted by Thucydides, Hellanicus, Antiochus, Philistus, Ephorus and Timaeus.¹² Archaeological evidence from Molino della Badia (near Caltagirone), Lentini in east Sicily, Morgantina (near Enna) and the Aeolian islands – differing substantially from the evidence for Thapsos and the first phases of Pantalica – has been invoked as proof of the fact that in the Late Bronze Age Sicily was invaded by a new people from continental Italy.

However, more recent archaeological accounts have corrected these early views on both Greece and Sicily. As concerns the former, the assumption of a 'Doric' invasion from abroad is now widely being questioned, since the archaeological record does not show any clear signs of change in the material culture of what was originally the Mycenaean region.¹³ Today we also know that in the 'Dark Ages' a sophisticated and rich culture flourished in Euboea: the 1200–900 BC period may not have been one of complete economic and artistic collapse after all.¹⁴

Along much the same lines, Bernabò Brea's idea that Sicily entered its own 'Dark Ages' has been disproved by the fact

¹⁰ Drews (1993) still provides the most detailed account of the possible reasons for Mycenaean collapse. A useful overview is Hall (2007: 43, 51–5).

¹¹ See e.g. Pugliese Carratelli (1986b: 13) and Manni (1969: 17).

¹² Cf. Jacoby, commentary to *FGH* I 79. On the tension between the reconstructions provided by historians on the basis of ancient written sources and the descriptions furnished by archaeologists, and the issues raised by this 'Great Divide' in classical history, see Yntema (2000).

¹³ Overview of the debate on the 'Doric question' in Lemos (2003: 191–3).

¹⁴ Recent critiques of the concept of 'Dark Ages', based on Lefkandi, are Lemos (2001) and (2003); overview in Hall (2007: 48–51). However, the discovery that sites such as Lefkandi prospered does not change the fact that other areas of continental Greece appear to have been much less wealthy and developed than they were in the previous period.

that both Thapsos and Pantalica – sites which began their life in the second millennium – continued to be occupied in the first millennium.¹⁵ Moreover, the archaeological record, with its evidence of cultural and social changes, suggests a dynamic scenario rather than one of crisis and decay. This impression of dynamism is further confirmed by the archaeological findings from the Aegean and Levantine areas, which show continuity in contacts between the eastern and western shores of the Mediterranean throughout the ‘Dark Ages’. While largely consisting in the exchange of prestige goods, these contacts continued to follow the same sea routes travelled in the age of Mycenaean expansion: those connecting Cyprus, Crete and Malta with Sicily, Sardinia and continental Italy.¹⁶ As a result, Aegeanists are now adopting the concept of ‘network’ to explain the complex – and partly new – contacts that emerged in the Late Bronze Age among Greece (where Euboeans were key players), Cyprus, the Levant and Italy (more on this below).¹⁷

What partly complicates this picture is the fact that the more we know from archaeology, the more difficult it becomes to harmonize the archaeological record with the Sicans and Sicels, the two indigenous peoples mentioned by Greek historical sources. To paraphrase the title of a famous article by John Chadwick (1976), which tackled the core problem in the study of the Greek Late Bronze Age by challenging the myth of the Dorian invasion, the question that has come to the fore is: Who were the Sicans and Sicels?

Who were the Sicans and Sicels?

In the past, archaeologists influenced by classical historians have used the terms ‘Sicanian’ and ‘Sicel’ to describe different *facies* of Sicilian archaeology between the Bronze Age and the Early Iron Age. A few scholars have explicitly identified the Sicans with the Thapsos culture,¹⁸ while others have identified the Sicels’ arrival

¹⁵ Albanese Procelli (2003b: 32).

¹⁶ Matthäus (2001: 175–6), Albanese Procelli (2003b: 131).

¹⁷ See e.g. Lemos (2001), Sommer (2009).

¹⁸ See e.g. Pugliese Carratelli (1986b: 13), S. Tusa (1988–9b, 1994: 175), Tusa and Nicoletti (2002).

with the archaeological developments observed for the Early Iron Age in sites such as Lentini, Molino della Badia and Morgantina.¹⁹ Another term that specialists use to describe the material changes many Sicilian sites underwent in the Early Iron Age is 'Ausonian', though this expression appears to be used inconsistently: in some cases it applies to the peninsular culture that first developed in the Aeolian islands in the thirteenth century BC and is thought to have later spread to eastern Sicily, as attested by sites such as Molino della Badia and Lentini; but in Bernabò Brea's terminology, it only applies to the Aeolian islands, whereas the new archaeological *facies* of eastern sites is called 'Sicel'.²⁰

Studies carried out by Italian prehistory and protohistory experts in recent years suggest a very different picture. Various degrees of peninsular influence may no doubt be traced across different sites, beginning with the Aeolian islands and then spreading to sites in central and east Sicily (the above-mentioned Molino della Badia and Lentini, but also South Pantalica, particularly in the realm of burial practices).²¹ Still, this influence is no longer generally taken as evidence for any mass movement of peninsular people(s) into Sicily (the 'invasion' described in traditional accounts).²² Moreover, there is no evidence that the emergence of a new archaeological *facies* in Sicily was accompanied by destruction and violence, a fact which allows us to view peninsular influence more in terms of contacts and exchange networks than in terms of mass settlement.²³

¹⁹ Leighton (1999: 188, 215–17).

²⁰ Cf. Bernabò Brea (1957: 137, 169–70), Bietti Sestieri (1979: 626–7 and *passim*), S. Tusa (1994: 181), Leighton (1999: 188). A recent overview is in Albanese Procelli (2003b: 33), who remarks on the material differences between the 'Ausonian' culture of Lipari and Milazzo (on the Tyrrhenian coast of Sicily), which has a clear peninsular character, and that of Molino della Badia, which mixes peninsular and local elements. See too Bietti Sestieri (2009: 430–2).

²¹ Bietti Sestieri (1979: 624–6).

²² Leighton (1999: 216) tentatively speaks of 'movements, perhaps combining no more than small bands or tribal splinter-groups'; Bernabò Brea (1957: 137) spoke of peninsular 'colonization' of the Aeolian islands; S. Tusa (1994: 182) of 'invasion'. To be fair to Bernabò Brea, however, it must be noted that he acknowledged the problem of the Sicels' archaeological dimness (1957: 169–70): '[I]f the Sikels really are the Italic people mentioned by the sources, they must, after having conquered Sicily, have themselves been culturally absorbed by the superior civilization of their subject peoples, thereby losing both their cultural and ethnic individuality.'

²³ Thus clearly Leighton (1999: 216) and, in a more nuanced way, S. Tusa (1994: 183).

Peninsular contacts were wide-ranging and continuous, showing – as Leighton (1999: 190) puts it – that ‘new relationships were also being formed towards the end of the Bronze Age between Sicily, southern Italy and the western Mediterranean due to economic and perhaps political realignments, encouraged by changes in international exchange networks following the disruption of links with the Aegean’.²⁴ It is therefore best to avoid interpreting these influences from an ethnic standpoint, as signifying the replacement of one *ethnos* (Sicans) by another (Sicels): for archaeology simply does not allow us to represent the material changes mentioned above in terms of ethnicity.²⁵ If we wish to continue using terms such as ‘Sicanian’ and ‘Sicel’ we must be aware that for Iron Age Sicily these are simply conventional labels for what would otherwise be referred to as ‘the older’ (e.g. Thapsos and, to an extent, Pantalica) and ‘the newer’ (Molino della Badia etc.).

Let us now return to the focus of this volume and to the question of what kind of ethnic, social and political scenario the first Greek colonists encountered in Sicily in the eighth century BC. An answer may indeed be found, except when it comes to ethnicity. It is impossible to tell whether a distinction was already drawn in Antiquity between the indigenous culture in the south-east of Sicily (the ‘Sicel’) and that in the south-west (the ‘Sicanian’).²⁶ Judging from the archaeological and epigraphic record we have for the archaic period, it is even difficult to maintain with any certainty that we are dealing with two different peoples speaking two different languages (on this question, see [Chapters 1 and 6](#)): later differences in material culture between eastern ‘Sicel’ sites such as Centuripe and Mendolito and western ‘Sicanian’ sites such as S. Angelo Muxaro may also be explained in terms of internal evolution within the same ethnic group (more on this below).

²⁴ On the change brought about by the end of contacts with the Aegean and the beginning of more intense relations with peninsular Italy, and the role of Sicily in both phases, see now Bietti Sestieri (2009).

²⁵ This means moving away from the approach of scholars such as S. Tusa (1994: 190), who speaks of a ‘mutamento etnico-culturale’.

²⁶ Even a scholar inclined towards a traditional reading of early Sicilian history such as Pugliese Carratelli (1986b: 11) discards Thucydides’ opinion that the Sicels completely drove the Scicans out of eastern Sicily by force. Instead, Carratelli suggests that the Sicels imposed their customs on a large number of Sicanians, thereby assimilating them.

What may be brought into sharper focus, by contrast, is the social and political organization of these pre-Greek peoples. They tended to inhabit hilltop sites, which may have been part of larger territorial entities;²⁷ close territorial control may be the reason for the political and cultural stability of these indigenous sites and their survival into the classical period. Settlements consisted of clusters of houses that included some wealthy dwellings but lacked – unlike Thapsos – any urban layout.²⁸ Burial grounds are often vast (as in the case of those at Molino della Badia-Madonna del Piano in east Sicily and Santa Margherita Belice in the west) and show the coexistence of different funerary practices (inhumation in rock-cut chambers, jars and trench-graves, as well as cremation in some rare cases). This variety in burial practices is best viewed as reflecting age, gender and social differences, rather than as evidence for different ethnicities.²⁹ It remains to be seen whether the shift from tomb burials – accompanied by great quantities of grave goods – to cremation may be taken to suggest that in the Iron Age indigenous society was moving towards more egalitarian forms of organization, as has been suggested:³⁰ it is possible that status was not conveyed through burial practices.

*Between 'protocolonization' and 'precolonization':
Mycenaeans, Phoenicians and Greeks*

The two preceding sections have shown how contemporary scholarship is paying increasing attention to the social and cultural fabric of pre-classical Sicily as a way of understanding the phenomenon of eighth-century colonization. Given the crucial role of Sicily within Mediterranean exchange networks of the second millennium BC, the events influencing Sicilian culture before

²⁷ S. Tusa (1994: 179) speaks of 'principati' for the eastern sites of Pantalica, Caltagirone and Dessueri around 1000 BC. See also De Angelis (2003: 9).

²⁸ On Thapsos as an urbanized site, see Leighton (1999: 152–4). S. Tusa (1994: 177), however, identifies 'protourban' features in the sites belonging to the last phase of the Pantalica *facies* (Mokarta and Partanna in the river Belice valley), so the interpretation of data is not unequivocal.

²⁹ On burial practices and their interpretation, see S. Tusa (1994: 183–5) and Leighton (1999: 195–203).

³⁰ De Angelis (2003: 10).

it became essentially Greek cannot be ignored. We have seen what difficulties beset those studying native Sicilian cultures and their relations with external players: among these, Mycenaean and Phoenicians continue to attract the most attention within the debate on the controversial issues of ‘protocolonization’ and ‘precolonization’. Although these terms appear to be used interchangeably,³¹ ‘protocolonization’ – focusing on the ‘first’ Greeks who reached the West – is best applied to the Mycenaean expansion of the Late Bronze Age, while ‘precolonization’ best applies to the many Mediterranean exchange contacts that anticipated the Greeks’ arrival in Italy: a complex network through which (mainly Euboean) Greeks came to interact with Phoenician, Cypriot and Maltese seafarers.³²

Let us tackle the issue of protocolonization first, bringing the Mycenaeans and their dealings with Thapsos back into the picture. We have seen that historians and archaeologists have long debated whether the evidence from Thapsos – no doubt the most open Sicilian culture in the second millennium³³ – simply reflects the site’s importance with respect to trade across the Aegean,³⁴ or whether it is indicative of Mycenaean settlement in Sicily. Greek historical sources relate myths that have served for the development of theories concerning early forms of Mycenaean colonization. The most famous myth is that of Daedalus’ flight from Crete to Sicily, his reception at the court of Kokalos, the king of Kamikos, and of Minos’ disastrous expedition to Sicily.³⁵ Giovanni Pugliese Carratelli, one of the champions of the theory of Mycenaean direct

³¹ An authoritative example of a different use of these terms is Malkin (1998: 13), who avoids ‘precolonization’ and employs ‘protocolonization’ to refer to Greek contacts with the West in the ninth century BC. According to De Angelis (2003: 10), by contrast, precolonization should not be used for early Mycenaean contacts, but only for those which occurred in the eighth century.

³² Graham (1990: 60): ‘all three of the Etruscans, Phoenicians, and Greeks could have been the carriers of pre-colonial goods . . . We seem to have a rather plural and complex situation, which should make us chary of hypothesizing any one trading nation to the exclusion of others’. See too Yntema (2000: 4–5) on the ‘trade before the flag’ debate. On the important role of Cypriot traders in early Iron Age Italy, which later waned with the Greeks’ advent, see Vagnetti and Lo Schiavo (1989).

³³ See Vagnetti (1993: 143).

³⁴ On trade routes and Sicily’s role, see Leighton (1999: 180).

³⁵ Hdt. 7.170, D.S. 4.78–9, Philistus *FGH* 556 F 4.

involvement in Sicily, defined Thapsos as a 'fondaco di micenei',³⁶ while Eugenio Manni (1962: 14) saw 'an historical truth' behind the Kokalos myth, namely a 'Mycenaean attempt at military occupation'.

A few archaeologists have followed suit, interpreting architectural features at Thapsos (such as the *tholos* tombs and the site's urban layout) as evidence for permanent Mycenaean settlement – something surviving artefacts in themselves would not be enough to prove.³⁷ It is difficult, however, to assess the full implications of this discovery: does it merely show that the locals had assimilated Mycenaean technologies? Is it evidence for the settlement of small groups of Mycenaeans in what may be called a Mycenaean *emporion*?³⁸ Or is it proof that Thapsos was under direct Mycenaean control? If in classical and archaeological studies in Italy theories ranging from stable Mycenaean contacts with Sicily to a proper military and colonizing expedition have been fashionable, scholars in other countries have followed a different approach. Reviewing the Greek evidence used in support of these theories ('erudite but inconclusive speculation'), Leighton (1999: 185) concludes that 'those who have looked to the archaeological evidence for some tangible support have had to be content with rather limited permissible conclusions based on Mycenaean and Cypriot material'. Building on a detailed, thorough study by Giangiulio (1983) concerning the significance of the Heracles myth in Greek western colonization, Leighton suggests that the stories told by Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus simply project first-millennium colonial experiences back into the second millennium, as 'myths of precedence'.³⁹

³⁶ Pugliese Carratelli (1986b: 7). Earlier articles on this issue are Pugliese Carratelli (1956) and (1958). See further La Rosa (1986: 83), who speaks of Mycenaean 'nuclei transmarini stabilmente insediatisi nell'area della Sikania'.

³⁷ For an overview of Thapsos' archaeological record in connection with the Mycenaean question, see Voza (1986: 550–9). Albanese Procelli (2003b: 33) is more sceptical on the possibility of finding precise correspondences between Thapsos and Aegean sites.

³⁸ For instance, Voza (1986: 559) interprets the Mycenaean-influenced architectural elements not as proof of a 'Mycenaean colonization', but as evidence of a profound Mycenaean influence.

³⁹ Also see De Angelis (2003: 15 n. 39), with further references, and Albanese Procelli (2003b: 20).

The debate has received new impulse from the thorough archaeological research carried out over the last twenty years in the area of Mycenaean trade in the West, which has led to a detailed mapping of Aegean finds in Italy.⁴⁰ The consequences of this are twofold. On the one hand, we now know that Mycenaean interest in Italy – not only as a market, but also as a precious source of metal – was long-lived and geographically widespread. Important find-spots of Mycenaean pottery are located not only in Sicily and the Aeolian islands, but also on Vivara, a small island near Ischia, along the Ionian coast of Calabria, Basilicata and Apulia, and along the Adriatic coast of Apulia. While Sicily was an important trading partner for the Mycenaeans at the height of their civilization (in the Middle Bronze Age, c.1450–1300 BC), in the Late Bronze Age the importance of Apulia, Basilicata and Calabria increased, and these regions began to produce locally pottery of a Mycenaean type.⁴¹

On the other hand, archaeologists now have better data on the basis of which to dismiss the once popular idea of a Mycenaean ‘colonization’ of Sicily.⁴² The conclusions reached by Vagnetti (1993: 152) are particularly eloquent:

Very often the Aegean evidence from Italy has been used to hypothesize a pattern of ‘colonization’. I personally prefer to confine the use of this term to the Greek colonies of the 8th century B.C. Even in the late and troubled period, when there is evidence in the whole Mediterranean area of turbulence and movements of people, the archaeological finds of Aegean type in Italy have always been found in local settlements and represent only a very small percentage of the total. There is no Mycenaean layer distinct from local layers and no Mycenaean buildings among the local huts. Even in the case of Thapsos – the only settlement of Aegean type – the majority of the material . . . belongs to the local culture.

If one wishes to define the nature of this relationship, one should rather think in terms of small groups of people coming from the Aegean who settled among the local communities at specific sites as early as the 14th century B.C. . . . with the purpose of assuring the continuity of trade . . . This type of settlement would have resulted in the introduction of Mycenaean technologies in the local

⁴⁰ An accessible introduction to these issues is Ridgway (1992: 3–8).

⁴¹ Ridgway (1992: 6), Vagnetti (1993: 147, 149), Bietti Sestieri (2009).

⁴² See e.g. Kilian (1990: 465): ‘there was no homogeneous Mycenaean colonization. Instead, there was a complex variety of expansion’. He defines Thapsos as ‘an Aegean trading port, within a fairly large native settlement’ (1990: 456).

communities . . . From the 13th century on, trading contacts seem to have been supplemented (or sometimes supplanted) by a new pattern of contact – that of itinerant craftsmen . . . travelling as free-lance specialists after the downfall of the palatial system.⁴³

As concerns precolonization, a discussion of Sicilian history prior to the arrival of the Greeks in the eighth century BC would not be complete without a look at the position held by the Phoenicians. However, the extent of Phoenician presence in Sicily before Greek colonization, as well as its exact dating, are another area of controversy among scholars. Thucydides 6.2 relates that Phoenicians were settled along the coasts of the entire island but then, with the arrival of the Greeks, withdrew to their sites in the west (Motya, Soluntum and Panormus). Quite apart from the fact that Thucydides may be exaggerating the degree of Phoenician presence on Sicily,⁴⁴ the larger question is whether it was roughly contemporary to Greek colonization or whether it dates back to either the second millennium or slightly later (eleventh/tenth century). The latter dating – championed by V. Bérard and many others⁴⁵ – has recently been met with the scepticism of scholars who claim that the earliest secure evidence does not predate the eighth century BC, a view shared by Maria Giulia Amadasi Guzzo ([Chapter 3](#)).⁴⁶

As Aubet (2001: 194–5, 200–1) remarks, much of the problem consists in the fact that scholars have tried to reconcile two largely incompatible methodologies and sets of evidence: the historical-philological, based on classical sources, and the archaeological. We here face contradictions similar to those that previously emerged in our discussion of the indigenous populations of Sicily and of Mycenaean 'protocolonization'. Aubet (2001: 211) rightly notes the methodological flaw behind the idea of Phoenician 'precolonization': the fact that this theory rests on an external model, that of Mycenaean 'protocolonization', which

⁴³ Vagnetti reached a similar conclusion in an earlier paper, Vagnetti (1983: 174). For a criticism of 'precolonial' as an appropriate term for the description of Mycenaean contacts with Sicily, see De Angelis (2003: 10).

⁴⁴ E.g. De Angelis (2003: 115–16), with recent bibliography, and Amadasi Guzzo in this volume, [Chapter 3](#).

⁴⁵ Moscati (1963) and (1983), V. Tusa (1974: 26–30), Niemeyer (1990: 488), De Vido (1997: 226–8).

⁴⁶ Aubet (2001: 199), De Angelis (2003: 115).

is itself highly controversial. When reviewing the archaeological evidence produced in favour of Phoenician ‘precolonization’, Aubet complains about the lack of any objective and rigorous methodology. She concludes her observations on a sceptical note: while the Phoenicians had certainly established exchange contacts with the West before the eighth century, many conclusions based on the available evidence are blighted by subjective approaches that undermine the soundness of the methodology itself.

In order to account for the various bits and pieces of evidence for Phoenician trade in the western Mediterranean before the eighth century, scholars have recently attempted to apply different interpretative models. Putting the concept of ‘colonization’ aside and approaching the question from a more nuanced perspective, they have introduced concepts such as ‘network’, ‘expansion’, ‘connectivity’ and ‘trading contacts’. In an attempt to pin down the characteristics of Phoenician presence in the Mediterranean, while highlighting how it differs from Greek patterns of colonization, Sommer (2009: 97) has emphasized the ‘unhierarchical’ character of the composite Mediterranean network in which the Greeks certainly had a part, albeit not the most important one. Building upon the navigation and nautical skills they had acquired through their trades in the second millennium, the Phoenicians aimed to acquire raw materials and export luxury goods. Their ‘non-Greek model of expansion’ relied not on centralized organization, but on the individual initiative of small groups of tradesmen.⁴⁷ The ‘non-Greek’ aspect of Phoenician contacts with the West is a key concept also in H. G. Niemeyer’s approach to the question. The distinctive character of Phoenician ‘colonization’ in the eighth century BC is seen to reside in the fact that what the Phoenicians established – with the exception of Carthage – were not cities as much as ‘ports of trade’.⁴⁸ The reasons for the difference in the two types of colonization are to be found in the nature of Late Bronze Age Phoenician trading, which specialized in luxury goods: the establishment of more stable settlements in key spots along western routes was a measure Phoenicians took to counter ‘the new and aggressive colonization movement of the Greeks’.⁴⁹

⁴⁷ Sommer (2009: 102).

⁴⁸ Niemeyer (1990: 485).

⁴⁹ Niemeyer (1990: 488).

To conclude this section, I wish to examine two further points. First, it should be noted that the new approaches to Phoenician presence in Sicily, while claiming that we need to abandon a Hellenocentric interpretative framework, nevertheless still continue to construe the question in terms of a strong opposition between Greeks and Phoenicians, which finds little support in the historical and archaeological record.⁵⁰ Secondly, we should pay more attention to hybridity as a phenomenon that characterizes the colonial encounters made by the Phoenicians in Sicily as much as it characterizes those of the Greeks (on which see the two following sections).⁵¹

The creation of a 'distinct colonial culture' – to quote Hodos – informs all the experiences made by the peoples who inhabited ancient Sicily down to the Roman Empire – the uniqueness of Sicilian Greek literature and the peculiarity of the Sicilian 'epigraphic' habit being but two aspects of this culture. The Phoenicians are no exception, as is shown by the complex hybrid milieu attested in western Sicily (see below). Doric architectural styles and Greek pottery decorations are found at Motya, a Phoenician site which has also yielded a remarkable marble *ephebe* of Greek craftsmanship, suggesting that 'the Phoenicians appreciated elements of Greek culture'.⁵² Conversely, the lack of any clear signs of enduring Phoenician influence upon the Greek culture of Sicily should not be mistaken as evidence of the passive attitude of Phoenicians in the face of Hellenization. In fact, language contact – the central topic in this volume – shows that Phoenicians and Punics – together with the Romans, though for different reasons – were the most prone to linguistic open-mindedness, an attitude that extends from mere language interference to competent bilingualism. Alongside the Phoenician and Punic inscriptions discussed by Amadasi Guzzo in [Chapter 3](#) – which, in spite of their brevity, show that both the Phoenician language and Phoenician writing habits were widespread – we also find continuous evidence for Phoenicians' use of Greek (and later also Latin) for

⁵⁰ See Hodos (2006: 12–13).

⁵¹ 'Hybridity' is a concept borrowed from post-colonial studies and which will be addressed in the next section. Cf. Antonaccio (2003: 59).

⁵² Hodos (2006: 154).

communication purposes (see [Chapter 11](#)). The linguistic openness of Phoenicians, however, did not coincide with the early decay of their language, as was instead the case with speakers of Sicel and Elymian, the written attestation of which abruptly ends in the late fifth century BC (see [Chapters 1](#) and [2](#) by Poccetti and Marchesini). When Punic did eventually decline (inscriptions ceased sometime in the first century AD, although the spoken language may have survived longer, cf. [Chapters 11](#) and [12](#)), it was largely as a result of the territorial and political Romanization of Sicily.

A ‘post-colonial’ Greek colonization: a hybrid experience

The arrival of the Greeks in Sicily, the nature of this event and its chronology, have engaged classical historians for at least two centuries – ever since the publication of Raoul-Rochette’s *Histoire critique de l’établissement des colonies grecques* in 1815. This is not the place for offering a retrospective on the way perceptions of Greek colonization have changed over time: those interested in the topic should start, for archaic Greek colonization in general, from Graham (1982), Boardman (1999), Nippel (2003), De Angelis (2007) and (2009), followed by Gabba and Vallet (1980), Consolo Langher (1996), Greco (2006), D’Agostino (2006), Domínguez (2006), Hodos (2006: 89–157), Antonaccio (2009) and the bibliographical references in BTCG for Greek colonization in Italy (readers should also bear in mind that works published before the mid-1990s may be outdated in terms of methodology). An excellent overview of the debate concerning the colonization of southern Italy is Yntema (2000).

The chronology of the Greeks’ arrival in Sicily and the reconstruction of their modes of contact with the natives have long been exclusively based – and in some cases continue to be so – on much later Greek accounts: the short summary of Thucydides’ book 6 (largely drawing from Antiochus of Syracuse, only known in fragments), Diodorus Siculus’ book 14, Polienus’ book 5 and a few remarks in Herodotus’ ‘Sicilian chapters’ (7.153–67). It is worth highlighting two issues here. The first concerns the question of the extent to which Greek colonizers might have hailed from

the same city/region. This is a particularly relevant issue for the present volume since what needs to be ascertained is whether the ethnic, cultural and linguistic situation of Sicily in the archaic and classical age results from internal developments or instead at least partly reflects a linguistic (and regional) mixture introduced by the new settlers.⁵³ The dialectal map that emerges from [Chapter 7](#) shows a clear divide between Ionic and Doric, with the latter soon replacing the former in several cities and eventually becoming the basis for a special kind of Sicilian koina (analysed by Mimbrera in [Chapter 8](#)). A few elements hint at the existence of local varieties, entailing competing morphological features: this is the case, for instance, with the -εσσι datives for stems ending in stops (which might be of Corinthian origin and have spread in Sicily via Syracuse) and the athematic infinitives in -μεiv attested at Gela (of probable Rhodian origin). However, as Mimbrera remarks, Sicilian Greek appears to be overwhelmingly standardized: if the first settlers brought several varieties of Greek with them, their dialectal differences would appear to have been soon wiped out, leading to a vast phenomenon of dialectal convergence. An important linguistic fact is that the varieties of Doric that reached Sicily all belonged to the same Doric subgroup (the so-called *Doris mitior*): crucially, this entails a convergence with Ionic as concerns the treatment of secondary long vowels, so that in terms of vocalism the initial dialectal differentiation between Ionic and Doric in Sicily may be seen to rest only on the opposition between Doric /a:/ and Ionic /e:/.⁵⁴ While dialectology offers little support for historical reconstructions, more fruitful is the study of the alphabetic varieties attested in archaic Sicily, which may sometimes betray the ethnically varied component of the colonial civic body, as shown by Brugnone (2009).

The second issue worth stressing concerns a general methodological question, namely: how far recorded 'history' may be regarded as a *post factum* invention addressing later needs.

⁵³ See e.g. Snodgrass (1994: 2): 'it is time to admit the likelihood that the Greek element was itself much more of a mixture – and not just in the joint ventures by more than one city – than the ancient historical accounts suggest'.

⁵⁴ This also significantly concerns the language of Sicilian authors such as Stesichorus and Epicharmus: see Willi (2008: 51–89).

Yntema's (2000) case-study of the Greek diaspora of the eighth and seventh centuries BC shows how the narratives surrounding it are in fact reconstructions provided by ancient authors who lived centuries later. Consequently, the values, socio-political systems and cultural agendas conveyed by these narratives differ significantly from those of the first Greek colonizers.⁵⁵ In this volume, Poccetti (Chapter 1) in particular focuses on how the information transmitted by Greek historians on the native populations of Sicily clashes with what can be reconstructed on the basis of linguistic and archaeological evidence (Marchesini discusses the same question as regards the ethnic identity of the Elymians in Chapter 2). The Greek accounts share a Hellenocentric point of view which unilaterally describes colonization as either a process of civilization of the indigenous *barbaroi* or a seemingly pacific settlement in uninhabited lands (*eremos chora*).⁵⁶ The interest Greek authors show in the natives does not go beyond a generic description of their origins and geographic distribution: we are never given the natives' point of view.⁵⁷

The Greek outlook has long informed modern approaches, the interpretative frameworks of which have also been shown to reflect British and French imperialistic thought, as well as a capitalist economic view of colonialism.⁵⁸ Even within Italian scholarship, which has less readily adopted one-sided accounts of colonization, a scholar like Bernabò Brea (1957: 160) could argue that 'in contact with the *superior* Greek civilization, the Siculan peoples quickly lost their own individuality' (the italics are mine).

Since post-colonial theory has come to influence classical studies, however, perceptions of the Greek colonization of Sicily have substantially changed.⁵⁹ The term 'colonization' itself has been called into scrutiny, for instance by Osborne (1998), who

⁵⁵ See too Osborne (1998), (2009: 4–8).

⁵⁶ Moggi (1983: 998–9), Albanese Procelli (2003b: 137).

⁵⁷ On Greek approaches to ethnogenesis in general, see the classic Bickerman (1952); on approaches to the origins of Sicilian indigenous peoples, see Sammartano (1998).

⁵⁸ See e.g. De Angelis (2009: 53).

⁵⁹ On the impact of post-colonial studies on classics, see papers in Goff (2005) and Greenwood (2009). For the methodological framework of post-colonial approaches to Greek colonization, see Malkin (1998) and (2004), Antonaccio (2003), De Angelis (2003: xvi–xvii); specifically on Sicily, De Vido (1997: 421–3) and Giangiulio (2010). For ancient colonization in this perspective, see Gosden (2004) and Hodos (2006).

maintains that many of the early Greek settlements in the west were the result of private enterprise rather than state-led initiative.⁶⁰ At the same time, the binary opposition between Greeks and barbarians which has held sway for such a long time is currently coming under the crossfire of historians, anthropologists and archaeologists alike. Scholars now largely work on the assumption that the shared experiences of the many inhabitants of Sicily created a 'middle ground' in which mutual acculturation, as opposed to one-sided Hellenization, resulted in cultural hybridity.⁶¹ The debate on hybridity also extends to the Romanization of Sicily (on which see below and [Chapters 11 and 12](#)).⁶²

Recent approaches to the history of Sicily, as well as that of other regions of the ancient world, tend to transcend the dualistic view according to which colonization always implies an encounter between a 'higher' culture (in this case the Greek) and a 'lower' one (the indigenous peoples'). As a consequence of the post-colonial debate that has sought to eradicate the idea of racial, ethnic and cultural purity from accounts of colonization, recent research on the ancient world has begun to reframe the concepts of 'culture' and 'identity' in colonial environments by paying greater attention to their mixed character and, at the same time, forsaking the belief that material culture can straightforwardly be regarded as an expression of ethnic boundaries (and 'nationalities').⁶³ Archaeological research in Sicily has brought sites or areas to light which are less exclusive than previously thought: two representative examples would be Ortygia, studied by Albanese Procelli (2003b), and the Ragusa area, discussed (among others) by Giangulio (2010).

Hodos (2006: 153) further emphasizes the dangers of interpreting material culture in terms of ethnicity in areas where hybridity is common, by arguing that in mixed contexts 'ethnic affiliation

⁶⁰ See further Tsatskheladze (2006b: xxv–xxviii), De Angelis (2009) and Antonaccio (2009: 321).

⁶¹ On these concepts, and their application to the ancient Mediterranean, see e.g. Antonaccio (2003: 60), van Dommelen (2006: 135–40) and Giangulio (2010), the latter specifically on Sicily. Willi (2008) argues for the hybrid character of Sicilian literature.

⁶² For the debate surrounding the use of the term 'Romanization' itself, see Wallace-Hadrill (2008: 10–11).

⁶³ See e.g. Wallace-Hadrill (2008: 8), Giangulio (2010: 13–14).

may not have been the driving factor in an individual's choice of material culture to use, but some other social factor(s)'. In the realm of pottery styles, for instance, Greek geometric motifs and particular vase-shapes, such as the trefoil oinochoe, are widespread among the natives. One could view this evidence as a clear indicator of cultural assimilation; yet, a more careful analysis of the persistence and re-use of such Greek elements in native contexts, where they remained popular long after Greek tastes and pottery styles had evolved, suggests a more profound process of reinterpretation on the natives' part, whereby a given vessel would have acquired 'a new significance distinct from its original role in the Greek pottery repertoire'.⁶⁴ Another example of local reinterpretation of originally Greek elements is the creative juxtaposition of geometric motifs and anthropomorphic and zoomorphic decorations – elements that are rarely mixed in Greek pottery. This decorative hybridization, which at times also includes Near Eastern motifs (attested on Punic pottery of the same period), is typical of central Sicily.⁶⁵ While individual decorative elements may be of foreign origin, therefore, their reinterpretation is distinctly local: the styles that characterize local Sicilian culture stand out for their high degree of hybridity, rather than for their uncritical adoption of Greek models.

A consequence of this increased attention towards hybridity is the acknowledgement of the fundamentally ambivalent character of colonial cultures, where in the second generation – if not already in the first – intermarriage, bilingualism and involvement with the social structure of the other people(s) determine an ongoing process of 'boundary-crossing' and blurring of distinctions.⁶⁶ Two different examples may be of use in this context: onomastics, which shows how names of diverse linguistic origin mingle in many epigraphic documents, from the archaic period down to the Roman age (see the section on onomastics below); and the adoption of the Greek alphabet on the part of the Sicels, who borrowed this writing tool without introducing the necessary modifications

⁶⁴ Hodós (2006: 136). ⁶⁵ Hodós (2006: 137–42).

⁶⁶ van Dommelen (2006: 137).

to adapt it to their language.⁶⁷ This fact, which certainly reflects the prestige of Greek culture, complicates matters for epigraphists and linguists insofar as short texts (e.g. those consisting of names or ownership formulae) cannot be attributed to the Greek or indigenous milieu on the basis of graphic elements.⁶⁸ Greek names, terms and phrases are often accompanied either by unusual morphological and syntactical patterns or by elements compatible with Greek but which may also belong to a different language. This is the case with the inscription $\rho\epsilon\delta\omicron\rho\alpha\iota\ \epsilon\mu\iota$ from Castiglione di Ragusa, which has variously been interpreted as either a genuine native text or as an example of aberrant Greek influenced by a local language.⁶⁹ A counterexample, on the other hand, is what happened in the Elymian area, where the Greek alphabet – on the model of Selinous and other Doric colonies – was not only borrowed, but also modified through the introduction of new signs such as the 'reversed $\eta\gamma$ ' and the adoption of different shapes for the same letter, as discussed by Marchesini in [Chapter 2](#).

Post-colonial approaches to the foundation of Greek cities in Sicily have also challenged another traditional binary opposition, that between the supposedly pacific settlement of the Chalcidians and the allegedly violent occupation of the Dorians. This opposition stood at the core of Thomas J. Dunbabin's interpretative framework, which exerted a long-lasting influence on Greek colonial studies,⁷⁰ but was later shown to have been conditioned by British imperial history.⁷¹ Dunbabin's theories are echoed by the words of another authoritative scholar of Greek Sicily, Georges Vallet: 'la colonisation qui, plus au nord, partit des cités chalcidiennes, eut un caractère différent, en ne prenant jamais la forme, contrairement à ce qui eut lieu pour Syracuse et, semble-t-il, pour

⁶⁷ For instance, Greek *beta* was used to render both Sicel /b/ and /f/ and no new sign was introduced to distinguish between the two sounds. On the exact value of this fricative, though, see [Chapter 1](#).

⁶⁸ See Agostiniani and Cordano (2002). An exception is the 'Sicel *alpha*', on which see Agostiniani (1988–9: 181) and (1991: 28).

⁶⁹ Agostiniani and Cordano (2002: 78). Discussing ownership formulas in the dative, Giangiulio (2010: 17) considers them examples of 'shift-induced structural interference', that is examples of Greek adapted to the syntax of the indigenous languages. See too [Chapter 1](#).

⁷⁰ Dunbabin (1948: 43), Moggi (1983: 980). ⁷¹ De Angelis (1998), (2003: xv).

Géla, d'une politique de conquête militaire et d'implantation brutale'.⁷²

Many scholars now maintain that the question of the 'aggressive' vs 'pacific' character of Greek penetration in Sicily cannot be posed on an ethnic basis.⁷³ Rather, it would be more appropriate to distinguish between the various attitudes manifested by the Greek *poleis* in different moments of their relations with the natives. One interesting case-study, on the different modes of penetration into Sikel territory adopted by Syracuse and its subcolony Camarina, will be discussed in the next section. As with other issues concerning ancient Sicily, archaeology describes a different picture from that traditionally drawn by ancient and modern historians. According to Albanese Procelli (2003b: 140, 228), archaeological remains from Leontinoi (a Chalcidian settlement) do not confirm that Greeks and Sicels pacifically lived together in the same territory; in particular, sixth-century evidence points towards violent conflict. On the other hand, in recent excavations in Doric Ortygia (Syracuse) ceramics have come to light that testify to the persistence of certain indigenous elements, suggesting that some form of cohabitation between Greeks and natives must have occurred.⁷⁴

*Contacts in east Sicily: Sicels, Sicans and Greeks
between cohabitation and conflict*

East Sicily is the area in which Greek presence is strongest and most territorially widespread. The main settlements are all located along the coast (see Map 1): the Euboean Zancle (later to become Doric Messina, with its subcolony Himera), Naxos (with its subcolony Leontinoi) and Catane; and the Doric Megara Hyblaea (with its subcolony Selinous), Syracuse (with its subcolonies Heloron, Acrae, Casmenae and Camarina) and Gela (with its subcolony Akragas).⁷⁵ Greek cities, however, attempted to exert some kind of control over the native interior by settling minor sites,

⁷² Vallet (1962: 31).

⁷³ E.g. Musti (1988–9: 216–18), Procelli (1988–9), Anello (2002a: 61).

⁷⁴ Albanese Procelli (2003b: 139).

⁷⁵ For the north coast of Sicily and the mountainous Madonie and Nebrodi areas behind it, see the monograph by Franco (2008).

some of which are relatively well documented – as in the case of the Syracusan colonies of Acrae, Casmenae and Heloron – while only the names of others survive (thus the identification of Euboea, founded by Leontinoi, is disputed).

Native settlements stretch westward from the Etna volcano, across an area bound by the Nebrodi Mountains to the north (main sites: Mendolito, Centuripe, Adrano, Civita di Paternò, Centuripe, Morgantina, Ramacca, Montagna di Marzo and Terravecchia di Cuti) and the Hyblaean Mountains to the south (main sites: Molino della Badia, Grammichele, Palikè, Licodia Eubea, Sciri, Monte San Mauro, Monte Casasia and Castiglione di Ragusa; see Map 1). As a conventional western border for the native culture of east Sicily, archaeologists have chosen the Gela river or alternatively, more to the west, the Salso river.⁷⁶ This has often been described as the border between the 'Sicel area' and the 'Sicanian area'. But in spite of the fact that native culture shows signs of gradual change the more one advances into west Sicily, the existence of a strong material divide in the middle zone between the two geographic halves remains unproven.⁷⁷ Similarly, it is difficult to argue that the Elymians were a different *ethnos* from the Sicans on the basis of the archaeological evidence for them, which does not substantially differ from that attested in sites traditionally associated with the 'Sicans'.⁷⁸

The linguistic analysis of texts in native languages from eastern Sicily also suggests that it impossible to neatly distinguish – as Thucydides does – between a Sicel area to the north-east and a Sicanian one to the south-west. While attempts to classify the epigraphic material on this basis have indeed been made – as Pocetti illustrates in [Chapter 1](#) – inscriptions from the 'Sicanian' area hardly differ in terms of language and writing from those from the 'Sicel' area. From a linguistic point of view, the Sicans simply do

⁷⁶ Albanese Procelli (2003b: 24).

⁷⁷ Albanese Procelli (2003b: 24), remarking that the differences in the material culture of western sites such as S. Angelo Muxaro are not indicative of a different ethnicity, but rather reflect the greater conservatism of this area, which preserved certain Bronze Age features that east Sicily lost through contact with peninsular cultures.

⁷⁸ E.g. van Compernelle (1950–1), S. Tusa (1988–9b: 48), De Vido (1997: 7–9, 333–42, 373–4), Albanese Procelli (2003b: 22, 24).

not exist.⁷⁹ We are then faced with an unbridgeable gap between the ancient sources on the one hand and modern epigraphic and archaeological interpretations on the other, which makes it impossible to draw any ethnic map of indigenous Sicily. Still, there is scope for other fruitful approaches. Simkin, in [Chapter 6](#), makes use of linguistic analyses as a way of identifying likely Sicanian place names, noting that these may have persisted even after the material culture of the sites had changed (i.e. by becoming ‘Sicel’). Another fruitful field of enquiry has also been opened by post-colonial studies, which offer a different way of approaching the relation between natives and Greeks. In this respect, a distinction may be drawn between the eastern and western part of the island, particularly for the period before the fifth century.

The area immediately behind Leontinoi, Syracuse and Camarina (see [Map 1](#) for sites) was alternatively fraught with tensions and forms of interaction. No doubt, with its founding of Camarina in the sixth century Syracuse sought to establish another powerful stronghold on the southern shore of the island, in such a way as to control the triangle of land drawn by Syracuse to the east, Camarina to the south and the Syracusan subcolonies of Acrae and Casmenae to the north. Acrae and Casmenae would appear to have functioned as the ‘cultural and trading hinges’ of an area which included important native sites such as Hybla, Castiglione di Ragusa and Sciri.

Particularly significant is the way in which Camarina’s relation to the native hinterland developed. The excavations carried out in this city and the surrounding Sicel area over the last twenty years have led scholars to reconsider the traditional idea of Camarina as a Syracusan military outpost. Now the prevailing view is that the city was an active player in the process of interaction and collaboration between Greeks and natives, probably on account of its frontier location and openness to trade (with both the southern Mediterranean and the hinterland).⁸⁰ Camarina’s desire to break free from Syracuse – which was interested in gaining

⁷⁹ See also Agostiniani (1988–9), (1991), (1992a), C. De Simone (1999a) and Willi (2008: 331–2).

⁸⁰ See G. Di Stefano (1988–9: 103–4), on onomastics and burial rites in the Camarina region, and Di Salvatore (2002: 10).

control over the hinterland – may explain why in her revolt against the *metropolis*, from the mid-sixth century onwards, the city allied herself with the natives against her mother-colony (as attested by Thucydides 6.5.3 and Philistus, *FGH* 556 F 46, transmitted by Dionysius of Halicarnassus).⁸¹ The defeat of Camarina marked an important change in the relations between Greeks and natives in the Hyblaean area, since it coincided with the end of the only counterbalance to the expansionist policy of Syracuse, which was later fully implemented by Gelon.

The picture of the Hyblaean area as a centre of ongoing political and cultural negotiation between Greeks and natives up to the end of the archaic age has further been confirmed – this time from the native side – through the exceptional finding of the so-called 'Castiglione warrior' monument in 1999. This discovery has greatly contributed to our knowledge of an area which is among the best documented in central-eastern Sicily⁸² and where local Sicel identity closely interacted with the Greeks' (as shown by the iconography and inscription of the monument). From Castiglione di Ragusa we also have a metric inscription dated to the late sixth century (*IGDS* I 127 = *CEG* 147). Running along a tomb door, it features three elegant elegiac distichs with a Greek female name, Χορώι, and a native male one, Κατελός or Ἀπελος.⁸³ The inscription bears witness to the high degree to which Greek cultural forms were assimilated in a native context. Alternatively, it may be taken to suggest that Greeks conformed to local customs to such an extent that in some cases they chose to adopt indigenous names.

The fate of Greek–indigenous relations in east Sicily is nicely illustrated by the history of the wealthy city of Castiglione, which lost all of its inhabitants in the fifth century BC. In this period the various forms of collaboration, exchange and even alliance between Greeks and natives in the east underwent substantial and definitive changes. Already at the beginning of the century, Hippocrates sought to conquer a vast stretch of land that included not only Greek cities such as Naxos and Leontinoi, but also indigenous areas (cf. Hdt. 7.154.2, Thuc. 6.5.3). Through the policies of

⁸¹ The passage presents a few textual difficulties, on which see Anello (2002a: 68–70).

⁸² G. Di Stefano (2002: 17). ⁸³ Ἐτελος according to Dubois *ad IGDS* I 127.

the two following tyrants, Gelon and Theron, Akragas and Syracuse gained lasting control over this territory. Gelon, in particular, deprived many indigenous centres of the hinterland of their political and urban autonomy, to the point that some of these disappeared completely in the fifth century. Musti (1988–9: 217) quite rightly viewed this expansionist policy not as a sign of increased ‘aggressiveness’ on the part of the Doric cities – I would refer here to the criticism already formulated above – but as the expression of a new political course taken by Sicilian tyrants, who aimed to establish territorial states and hence to control – rather than inhabit – Sicel areas. As this approach only fully emerged in the fifth century, however, it cannot straightforwardly be invoked to explain early relations between Greeks and natives.

*Contacts in west Sicily: Phoenicians, Elymians and Greeks
between trade and assimilation*

The political and cultural development of west Sicily in the eight centuries leading to the Christian area is a monument to ancient hybridity. Much more than east Sicily, where Greek culture eventually triumphed over indigenous elements some time in the fifth century BC, down to the Roman era west Sicily witnessed a continuous sequence of contacts, alliances and conflicts which cannot fully be explained in terms of the traditional opposition between Greeks and ‘barbarians’.⁸⁴ The small area delimited by Selinous, Segesta and the coast opposite Motya was home to three profoundly different peoples (see Maps 2 and 3 for sites). Probably owing to the fact that neither Elymians nor Phoenicians had a strongly territorial approach to political organization, the relations between these peoples were mostly characterized by cultural exchanges rather than violent confrontation. These unique conditions fostered almost continuous prosperity and demographic development up to the beginning of the fifth century BC.⁸⁵

⁸⁴ Suffice it to remember here that only Selinous, among the Greek cities of Sicily, allied herself with Carthage against Gelon in 490 BC; and it was with the Elymians of Segesta that Athens cooperated in her Sicilian expedition.

⁸⁵ See Vassallo (2000: 994) and his discussion of the subsequent period of crisis.

Recent research on this area, and particularly on what was once Elymian land, has finally disproved the idea that it was another battleground for 'Hellenization'.⁸⁶ The Greeks would appear to have conformed to local customs, which differed significantly from those in the east. Selinous' fundamental position in political and cultural negotiations between the Greeks and the other *ethnē* is unmatched by any other city in east Sicily, including Camarina, which no doubt played an active part in providing an alternative to Syracuse's conflict-oriented dealings with the Sicels (see above). Greek historical sources describe relations between Selinous and Elymian Segesta in terms of ongoing hostility, but modern approaches, based on archaeological evidence, have brought out the fundamentally pacific character of these relations.⁸⁷ The Greek city emerges as a veritable frontier settlement which had negotiations with the Elymians of Segesta and Eryx and the Phoenicians of Motya (and later Carthage and the African coast).

As for the Phoenician settlements, only Motya has been thoroughly excavated and can, therefore, be described archaeologically. Phoenician remains in Palermo have been covered up by several other layers, starting with the Roman colony, while Phoenician Soluntum has not yet been located.⁸⁸ By the sixth century BC Motya was a large urban centre with an estimated population of about 15,800 inhabitants, public buildings of a considerable scale, two sacred precincts (one of them a *tophet*, an open-air precinct where urns containing the burnt bones of children and animals were inhumated) and industrial and mercantile installations. While Motya's influence on the interior of the coast facing it may not have been strong, given the presence of the two Elymian centres of Eryx and Segesta, it certainly engaged with the Elymian world. This engagement appears to have taken the form of largely pacific contacts, to judge from the lack of references to conflict in the Greek sources.⁸⁹ In Chapter 3 Amadasi Guzzo makes reference to the large number of Punic stamps on commercial jars that

⁸⁶ See e.g. the introduction to *Area elima III* by De Vido (2000: xiii); Frisone (2000: 503), Gallo (2000: 518) and Antonetti and De Vido (2006: 146).

⁸⁷ See e.g. Antonetti and De Vido (2006: 144 n. 14). ⁸⁸ Aubet (2001: 231–5).

⁸⁹ Cf. De Vido (1997: 256–7): an exception seems to have been the conflict over boundaries in the river Mazaro area, narrated by D.S. 11.86.2.

have surfaced at Segesta, bearing witness to the intense trading contacts between Elymians and Punics/Phoenicians in this area. The archaeological record of Eryx, on the other hand, shows that its sanctuary was frequented by both Elymians and Phoenicians (as well as Greeks and Romans at a later stage), who worshipped the same goddess under different names.⁹⁰

The history of the Phoenician presence in west Sicily is further complicated by the debated question of Carthage's role in the island. Officially, Carthaginian intervention began in the sixth century BC with Malco's expedition, which has been interpreted as a Carthaginian attempt to establish tighter control over other Phoenician cities.⁹¹ The fact that these were located in a territory also inhabited by Greeks and Elymians encouraged Phoenicians in Sicily to be more independent in their allegiances and relations than they were elsewhere – e.g. in Sardinia. By the end of the fifth century, the power of Carthage became perceptible not only in west Sicily, but also to a large degree in the south of the island. By the fourth century it is possible to speak of occupation proper, as is witnessed by Carthage's control over Phoenician coin minting in Sicily. In this context, Elymians switched their allegiances and became increasingly drawn towards the Punics. Carthaginian rule did not last long, of course: within a couple of centuries, the Punics yielded to the Romans, yet without fully disappearing from the island (consider the persistence of Punics in Palermo and on the north coast up to the first century AD, discussed in [Chapters 11](#) and [12](#)).

As concerns the Elymians, they enjoy a special status on account of two factors: the problem of their 'ethnogenesis' and the question of the extent to which they may have culturally and politically interacted with the Greeks. The debate over the origin of this elusive people has been raging for decades, and different theories have been in fashion at different times. Scholars' approaches may be boiled down to two opposite views, as summarized by Marchesini in [Chapter 2](#): (1) the external origin theory: supporters of

⁹⁰ For the archaeological evidence documenting contacts between Greeks and Punics (or Phoenicians), see Tamburello (1992).

⁹¹ Bondi (2006: 131–2). *Contra* De Vido (1997: 240, 243).

this view argue that the Elymians hailed from the Near East, the Iberian peninsula or continental Italy;⁹² (2) the internal origin theory: supporters of this view assume that the Elymians belonged to the same ethnic group which originally settled in southern Sicily at the end of the Bronze Age. For a long time, this debate was almost exclusively based on Greek sources and the baffling written evidence collected by Agostiniani in his 1977 *Iscrizioni anelleniche di Sicilia*.⁹³

A lot has changed since – and thanks to – the publication of Agostiniani's study. In the 1990s, Giuseppe Nenci and his research group based at the Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa began extensive research into what has been programmatically called 'the Elymian area' – a hot topic which has also been the subject of periodical conferences in Italy.⁹⁴ Better knowledge of the specificities of the Elymian area has brought to the fore another approach to the question of this people's origin, already anticipated by R. van Compernelle's studies, and continued by S. Tusa and S. De Vido. These scholars interpret Elymian culture as the combination of an 'external element' with a local process of cultural, political and social formation: the Elymians would result from the differentiation of indigenous peoples through the active and fundamental contribution of foreign and Greek elements.⁹⁵ In particular, in her 1997 monograph De Vido argues that what is most unique about the Elymians is the fact that they transformed the territorial organization typical of the other indigenous settlements into a fully developed urban system (she speaks of 'poleizzazione', *polisization*).⁹⁶

⁹² See De Vido (1997: 336 n. 78) for a basic bibliography on the 'external origin' position.

⁹³ See what Vincenzo La Rosa stated in the discussion following the paper by S. Tusa (1988–9b): 'mi limito alla questione dell'esistenza di un territorio elimo; e mi chiedo se, con i dati finora disponibili, non compiamo un atto di fede nell'ammetterlo. Dal momento che abbiamo difficoltà ad identificare manifestazioni di cultura materiale spiccatamente elima anche nei centri che la tradizione letteraria definisce elimi (mi riferisco, come è ovvio, soprattutto a Erice e Segesta), mi chiedo come si possa, in queste condizioni, parlare anche di un territorio elimo'.

⁹⁴ See *Elimi ed area elima* and *Area elima I–VI*.

⁹⁵ See S. Tusa (1988–9a), van Compernelle (1950–1) and De Vido (1997: 337–8), who, however, criticizes van Compernelle's approach for its 'caratterizzazione preminentemente politica che pensa agli Elimi come a Sicani organizzati in uno stato'. See also De Angelis (2003: 102–3).

⁹⁶ De Vido (1997: 338).

An emphasis on the essentially multi-ethnic character of the Elymian area – as a place in which heterogeneous identities were constantly forged over time – is also evident in Marchesini's approach to the Elymian alphabet in [Chapter 3](#). Starting from a careful analysis of the letter-types used in different kinds of inscriptions, Marchesini advances the hypothesis that different socio-types were active in the development and transmission of the Elymian writing system. Among them, Greek craftsmen may have been at work minting coins, and this would explain why a different graphic set was used for this typology of inscriptions.

A 'fluid' Romanization

As Lomas ([2000](#): 162) notes, the topic of acculturation in Sicily has been dissected mostly for the archaic and classical periods, although it does not cease to be relevant in the study of later centuries. Yet, in spite of the fact that from the fourth century BC onwards new players appeared on the Sicilian stage – Carthaginians, Campanians, Oscans and Romans – there has been less interest in the cultural changes they brought than there has been in the Greeks' interaction with Sicels, Elymians and Phoenicians. It may be that this state of affairs is due to an intrinsic difference between what the Greeks found when they first arrived in Sicily and what the Romans did. The Greeks came to colonize an island ample parts of which – particularly along the coast – were not intensively inhabited by natives. In their varying approaches to the indigenous element – aggression, cooperation, cultural negotiation – the Greeks were eventually successful in establishing a political supremacy that had major cultural implications. As noted in the previous sections, and discussed by Poccetti and Marchesini in detail, an important consequence of this is the fact that the indigenous languages disappeared from the written record at the end of the fifth century BC.

By contrast, even after Sicily became Rome's first province outside the peninsula, the island's culture remained predominantly Greek for several centuries. For a long time, the new political order did not entail any radical linguistic and cultural break: Greek continued to be spoken by all social classes and was still

used in civic and funerary epigraphy. Scholars are now showing increasing awareness of the 'fluidity' of Roman acculturation – or 'Romanization' – in Sicily.⁹⁷ In the case of Sicily, this is further complicated by two facts: the first (peculiar to Romanization as a whole) is that Roman culture was largely a product of what may be termed 'Hellenization',⁹⁸ the second fact is that Sicily had a distinctly Greek culture, i.e. by definition, a culture that the Romans may have perceived as 'superior' in many respects: Roman culture, therefore, need not be regarded as an elite culture.⁹⁹ As various recent studies have claimed, 'Romanization' cannot simply be viewed as a top-down imposition of values and customs onto the native cultures of conquered peoples;¹⁰⁰ in this volume, Chapters 11 and 12 show how political Romanization by no means entailed a linguistic overturning (Latinization): Sicilian identity continued to affirm itself through the persistent use of Greek in the face of Latin.

The idea that the establishment of the *provincia Sicilia* meant the eradication of Greek institutions in what was an economically, socially and culturally decaying land and their replacement by a completely novel socio-political order, has now largely been abandoned.¹⁰¹ At the same time, new approaches to Roman Sicily have begun to question the assumption of a clear-cut cultural divide between Latin and Greek. Scholars have suggested that cultural interaction on the island took the form of an 'active dialogue' rather than a 'passive process of Romanization',¹⁰² whereby each cultural choice was negotiated according to circumstances and was influenced by factors such as its social setting (public vs private), the status of its city and its historical period.

A good example of what 'cultural negotiation' may have entailed in early Roman Sicily is what happened in the realm of public and

⁹⁷ The topic – and critique – of Romanization is huge. Specifically on language and epigraphy, see Kaimio (1979), Dubuisson (1982), Woolf (1994a), (1994b) and (1998), Benelli (2001), and papers in Cooley (2002).

⁹⁸ Itself a very controversial term, and concept: see discussion in Wallace-Hadrill (2008: 17–28).

⁹⁹ Wallace-Hadrill (2008: 11–12).

¹⁰⁰ See Wallace-Hadrill (2008: 10), with bibliography.

¹⁰¹ Lomas (2004b: 11–12). ¹⁰² Lomas (2000: 163).

monumental building.¹⁰³ Those cities for which we have sufficient archaeological records show that the Romans promoted intense building programmes; yet, the structures erected were typically Greek (*bouleuteria*, *gymnasia*, *agorai*, *stoai*) and continued to be so for some time.¹⁰⁴ Roman capital and public ideology thus fuelled the perpetuation of local traditions. We are now better equipped to appreciate the level of interaction between Roman and Sicilian traditions than we were only thirty years ago, when the debate over Romanization was polarized between those who argued that there was substantial continuity between Hellenistic and Roman Sicily, and those who emphasized discontinuity at the end of the second century BC.¹⁰⁵ Better archaeological research and interpretation of archaeological data have given impetus to a resurgence of interest in Hellenistic Sicily and its ties with the early Republic, a line of investigation best illustrated by the work of Wilson (1990).¹⁰⁶ This, in turn, has sparked new approaches to history and epigraphy. In his study of Sicilian *gymnasia*, Prag (2007a) argues that the Romans amply fashioned their rule upon existing traditions. The twenty-one *gymnasia* Prag lists for the Hellenistic period would be not so much a sign of sudden cultural resilience on the Sicilians' part as a clear example of the Romans' strategic attempt to exploit and foster local traditions for their own military needs. The *gymnasia*, which already had a political function in Hiero II's building programmes, continued to have a function in shaping and perpetuating the civic identity of the Sicilian elite, while also helping the new Roman rulers to secure local manpower.¹⁰⁷

On the methodological level, a problem that scholars of Roman Sicily face is the relative paucity of epigraphic material, especially

¹⁰³ On the role played by monumental building in the Romanization of Italy, see Wallace-Hadrill (2008: 103–4).

¹⁰⁴ Lomas (2000: 164–5). On the *gymnasium* as a symbol of Greek luxury, and thus potentially disruptive for Roman *mores*, see Wallace-Hadrill (2008: 183–90).

¹⁰⁵ An excellent review of this debate is Campagna (2003), particularly 15–21 and 25–7.

¹⁰⁶ Though it is worth noting the presence of a few critical voices, such as Bonacasa (2004: 36), who sees Sicilian society after the third century BC as economically stagnant and culturally fixed.

¹⁰⁷ Prag (2007a: 97–9). On Hiero II's building policies, see Campagna (2004) and Ferruti (2004).

for its first four centuries. Many monuments survive, allowing us to advance interpretations regarding their political and ideological background; but on the other hand many of the inscriptions expected to go with them are missing. Limited epigraphical material is available: frequently short or laconic, it is often puzzling in terms of language choice. In the past, this led scholars to adopt contrasting views about Roman Sicily by making use of the available data without any sound statistical approach. Scholars either proclaimed the complete success of Romanization in the face of Hellenism, or argued that Greek institutions survived into Late Antiquity. By contrast, recent studies have interpreted the varying proportions of Greek vs Latin language choice attested in surviving texts as strong evidence of the fact that Sicily, unlike many other areas of the Roman world, underwent continuous phases of cultural negotiation, with frequent shifts of emphasis with regard to what was being promoted in terms of language choices and public display (K. Lomas' hypothesis).

It will be useful to highlight a few trends that have recently been recognized. Firstly, Roman building programmes do not always imply the use of Latin, just as the distribution of Latin public inscriptions does not necessarily serve as a map for political geography. We are used to thinking that east Sicily preserved its Greek culture for longer; yet most official inscriptions produced in Syracuse after the foundation of the *colonia* were in Latin,¹⁰⁸ as seems to have been the case in the other major cities of the east (see [Chapter 12](#)). Conversely, west Sicily – which was more intensively Romanized from the very start – reserves some surprises: Lilybaeum, for instance, shows a predominance of public inscriptions in Greek. By the early Imperial period the linguistic balance between Greek and Latin in the realm of public epigraphy had definitely shifted towards the latter: as Korhonen notes in [Chapter 12](#), the highest echelons in the public administration used Latin and the *coloniae* have yielded almost no administrative inscriptions in Greek. This trend continued down to the late Empire.

Secondly, Greek is largely predominant in private inscriptions, particularly in the realm of funerary texts. K. Lomas has

¹⁰⁸ See Korhonen ([2011b](#): 9).

interpreted this trend in sociolinguistic terms, suggesting that under the Empire elite epigraphy became Romanized, while non-elite epigraphy remained Greek. Korhonen instead takes a more cautious approach, noting that there are important examples of elite epigraphy in Greek as well, so that the situation appears to be much more fluid. While identifying some trends in the use of Greek and Latin in Imperial Sicily, Korhonen ([Chapter 12](#)) also admits that it is not possible to apply watertight criteria: Roman Sicily was characterized by ‘border-area multilingualism’ both in the east (where Greek was predominant) and in the west (where Latin was the main language), so that no part of the island was exclusively monolingual.

Consequently, and thirdly, it may be useful to approach the concepts of cultural negotiation and fluidity from the point of view of regionalism and regional diversification, which would mean envisaging the apparent anomalies in Sicilian cultural history as expressions of regional identity and uniqueness. Lomas ([2000: 172](#)) assumes that in the late Empire the Sicilian ruling classes deliberately turned their backs ‘on the philhellenic discourse of the early/mid-empire, which many other cities in both Italy and the eastern Mediterranean used as a means of enhancing civic status and of communicating with the Roman elite’.¹⁰⁹ If she is right, we could interpret this behaviour as a sign of the endurance in Roman times of that willingness to differentiate ‘colonial’ Sicily from mainland Greece discussed by Willi ([2008](#)) (see following sections).

Three corners of cultural contact: onomastics, literature and epigraphy

Onomastic evidence

Onomastic evidence greatly contributes to the identification of Sicily as an area of the ancient world where hybridity reached a high degree: in Poccetti’s words ‘proper names provide the most

¹⁰⁹ *Contra* Korhonen ([2010: 20–1](#)), who does not see a caesura in the representation of Greek identity.

striking evidence for the complexity of the linguistic situation in pre-Roman Sicily, showing the frequent lack of overlap between linguistic practices and cultural origins’ (Chapter 1). Agostiniani (1988–9: 190) draws attention to the fact that while the cultural influence attested by alphabetization only proceeds from the Greeks to the indigenous populations, that represented by onomastic borrowing goes both ways. Even though Greek names seem to have enjoyed greater prestige than indigenous ones, the large number of foreign personal names in Greek inscriptions testifies to the considerable presence of non-Greeks in Greek cities from the very beginning of the written documentation. An excellent example is Selinous, discussed by Masson (1972), as well as by Meiser and Poccetti in this volume.

Yet onomastic evidence is not without its contradictions. While the linguist will give a certain name to a language, this attribution will be of no use to the historian or ethnographer, since in mixed contexts names are borrowed from one culture into another. Thus, the Greek names on the ‘Castiglione warrior’ inscription, (Πυρ(ρ)ῖνος, Πυτίκ(κ)ας and Σκύλ(λ)ος), may equally be proof of either the presence of Greeks at Castiglione or of the adoption of Greek names by members of the indigenous elite.¹¹⁰ Both solutions are possible and, as Giangulio (2010: 18) remarks, ‘a debate on the real identity of these men would be out of place; it is clear that it will never be possible to sensibly classify them in ethnic terms’. Likewise, documents from Camarina attest to the mingling of Greek and Sikel names up to the end of the fifth century.¹¹¹ The degree of admixture is so high that, as Poccetti notes in Chapter 1, distinguishing between Sicels and Sicanians is also impossible on onomastic grounds.

Gerhard Meiser’s contribution (Chapter 5) clearly illustrates the kind of difficulties we face in attempting to attribute many of the linguistic forms that survive from indigenous areas (including the Elymian). In his discussion of the Great Curse of Selinous, Meiser interprets inconsistencies in the way patronymic affiliation is expressed as evidence for syntactic conflict between two

¹¹⁰ See Cordano (2002: 52–3) and Cassio (2002b: 123–4) on Πυτίκ(κ)ας.

¹¹¹ Cordano (1984: 31–4), (1987: 122–3).

different languages, Greek and Elymian. Still, as Poccetti observes in [Chapter 1](#), in many cases it is difficult to move beyond suppositions in the attempt to establish whether the use of native languages over Greek (or vice-versa) may be treated as a social marker, and to what extent it is possible to speak of bilingualism in archaic Sicily.

For west Sicily, the interaction and even collaboration among Greeks, Elymians and Phoenicians discussed in the previous sections finds a parallel in the clear onomastic similarity between Selinous and Elymian Segesta, with non-Greek names cropping up in the epigraphic record of the former city and Greek ones being used in the inscriptions of the latter – probably as prestigious names.¹¹² De Vido (1997: 384) draws attention to the fact that this epigraphic record confirms Thucydides' (6.6.2) allusion to marriage ties between the Greeks of Selinous and the Elymians of Segesta.¹¹³

Along with these convergences, what suggests that west Sicily was an area in which close relationships between Greeks and 'barbarians' were particularly frequent is also the persistence of onomastic exchanges in later periods. Let us consider, for instance, the mix of Greek, Phoenician and Latin names that surfaces in two Hellenistic *defixiones* from Lilybaeum (*IGDS* II 80) – which I will be discussing in [Chapter 11](#) – or again the Hellenistic and early Roman inscriptions mentioned by De Vido (1991: 972–4).¹¹⁴ The epigraphic record of west Sicily, therefore, is clearly marked by a continued use of mixed onomastics which finds no parallel in the eastern part of the island. As to the question of whether Oscans had been settled in Entella since the late fifth century BC, Clackson's discussion of the evidence from the Entella tables in [Chapter 4](#) suggests that it would be well to favour a more muted conclusion. While Italic names survive in the epigraphic record, there is nothing particularly Oscan about them: the idea of a full-scale Oscan settlement in Entella – and of Oscan linguistic resistance in the face of Greek – should be firmly ruled out.

¹¹² For this interpretation, see Biondi (2000: 141).

¹¹³ See also Agostiniani (1992a: 4) and more recently Biondi (2000: 137), De Vido (2003: 373–5), Antonetti and De Vido (2006: 143 n. 1).

¹¹⁴ See also *IGDS* II 87, 88, 89 (from Segesta), with persistence of indigenous names, and Cordano (2000: 311).

In Roman times, too, Sicily enjoyed a different status from other areas of the ancient world in which Greek and Latin coexisted, so that a certain flexibility in cultural choices also surfaces in the varying naming strategies attested by inscriptions from the Roman age. The typical Latin nomenclature (*tria nomina* or *nomen* and *cognomen*) is attested alongside the traditional Greek use of one’s name and patronymic, which remained common throughout the Imperial age.¹¹⁵ In a Latin inscription from Segesta we find the Roman *tria nomina* together with the Greek patronymic, *L(ucio) Iulio C(aii) f(ilio) Agrippae*.¹¹⁶ Another inscription from this area commemorates one *L(ucius) Caecilius A(uli) f(ilius) Martiales Apetaius*, who is assigned the *tria nomina*, a Greek patronymic and a Greek translation of his *cognomen*.¹¹⁷ see my discussion of both texts in [Chapter 11](#).

What is notable is the fact that these practices are neither linked to individuals’ ethnic origins nor to the language of the inscriptions. For instance, *IG XIV 277* honours M. Οὐαλέριος Χόρτων, a decurion who has a Greek *cognomen*, while in the fragmentary *IG XIV 276* a Τεβέριος Α[. . . υῖδ]ν Διογνήτου may be restored. Similarly, in [Chapter 12](#) Korhonen confirms that language choice and onomastics do not proceed in parallel by focusing on the corpus of epitaphs from the catacombs in Syracuse, showing that the number of Latin names is higher than that of Latin epitaphs.

A colonial literary system

As we saw in the preceding sections, over the last ten years the concept of hybridity has acquired increasing relevance in the study of ancient Sicily. This has forced archaeologists and historians to abandon an interpretative framework that treated Hellenism and indigenoussness as two opposing realities, while encouraging them to examine the processes of interaction that forged Sicilian material culture and political history. This approach is revolutionary in that it challenges the assumption that the Greeks of Sicily perceived their mixed character as a flaw or impediment to their ‘Greekness’,

¹¹⁵ Cordano (1997); Lomas (2000: 171–2).

¹¹⁶ See Nenci (1995: 1184–5).

¹¹⁷ See Nenci (2000: 812).

suggesting instead that they purposely centred their identity on hybridity.¹¹⁸ Antonaccio (2003: 66), for instance, has focused on Syracuse's attitude to public building and art in order to exemplify a paradigm of a community that 'picked and chose from a variety of styles and sources for its material culture . . . fashioning hybrid assemblages from among multiple styles and objects'.

Hybridity has now come to the fore in the linguistic and literary analysis of ancient Sicilian culture as well. In his pioneering work in this field, Willi (2008) has interpreted the Sicilian Greek literary system as a typically 'colonial' one, a means through which Sicily sought to distance itself from both the natives and its motherland. A major part in the construction of this colonial attitude is played by language awareness as much as material differences: more than anywhere else in the contemporary archaic world, Greeks settling in Sicily in the eighth century BC were suddenly projected into a world in which they experienced linguistic otherness on a daily basis.¹¹⁹ As a consequence, their language – even before their literature – was subjected to continuous pressure, which forced it to be innovative and to incorporate foreign elements: in other words, to become hybrid.¹²⁰

Just as modern post-colonial countries produce literary works the hallmarks of which are the deconstruction of traditional forms, the experimental mixing of genres and the fragmentation of the language inherited by their former colonists, so the attitude of Sicilians writing in Greek was marked by a wish to innovate, experiment with language, and even challenge the traditions acquired from the motherland. In Willi's analysis, it is little wonder that authors as different as Stesichorus, Empedocles, Epicharmus and Gorgias all voiced radical criticism against the values of the epic, its modes of expression and its representation of reality, greatly influencing later authors as well.¹²¹ The programmatic hybridization and even subversion of traditional literary genres – which is chiefly

¹¹⁸ Antonaccio (2003: 65). ¹¹⁹ Willi (2008: 4).

¹²⁰ Willi (2008: 4–6, 18–38, 323).

¹²¹ Stesichorus' criticism of mythological tradition and epic history in the *Palinody*: Willi (2008: 111–16); Epicharmus' parody of the epic hero in the Ὀδυσσεὺς αὐτόμολος: Willi (2008: 190–1); Empedocles' revelation of the ambiguity of the epic word (and world): Willi (2008: 253–62, 326); Gorgias' refusal of the truth of epic tradition in the *Helen* and *Palamedes*: Willi (2008: 327).

embodied by Stesichorus, but also characterizes aspects of Epicharmus', Empedocles' and Gorgias' works – is another striking peculiarity of the Sicilian literary system, insofar as it anticipated tendencies that only became fashionable in Hellenistic Alexandria.

At the same time, Willi argues that the hybrid linguistic background induced Sicilian authors to distance themselves from traditional Greek thought and literature. Epicharmus' *dramata* are the first – and rather precocious – example of literary works not associated with any codified literary language (though see criticism expressed by Passa (2011)). Epicharmus uses a local, Syracusan variety of the Doric dialect which, as well as dialoguing with epic language, also includes certain expressions derived from Sikel. In fact, he is the main source for the language: see the glosses discussed in Chapters 1, 6 and 9. The paradox of a local author writing in a local dialect and yet enjoying 'international' fame across the Greek world – if, as the sources state, Epicharmus indeed influenced Attic drama and Pindar – can be only fully appreciated by acknowledging the importance of his colonial identity. According to Willi, Epicharmus' choice of using local Syracusan Doric is another typically 'colonial' strategy to simultaneously challenge the tradition of his motherland (where Ionic had become the most prestigious literary dialect) and sever the link between Doric and choral lyric. Far from being a marginal author, Epicharmus stands at the very centre of the Greek literary system.¹²² His importance in the history of Greek literature is further highlighted by Cassio in Chapter 9: the fact that Epicharmus and other Sicilian playwrights are quoted by the *Antiatticist* treatise as authorities on language sheds light on the influence that Sicilian literature continued to exert in the post-classical age.

The centre of this literary system was Syracuse. As modern scholars – following Thucydides – have traditionally viewed the history of ancient Sicily as *histoire événementielle*, there has been a tendency to focus exclusively on the political and military influence of Syracuse in the fifth century BC, neglecting the responsibility the city and its tyrants had in shaping Sicily's culture. Noting

¹²² Willi (2008: 158–61).

the general lack of interest in Sicily shown by students of Greek art and archaeology up until the last decades of the twentieth century, Antonaccio (2003: 66) suggests that: ‘Hellenists are uncomfortable with colonial new money and the sense that colonial culture is not original, but derivative, and that the material culture, especially monuments, of places like Syracuse can be uncomfortably noncanonical.’ As the scholar recalls, just as Pericles’ Athens was the navel of classical Greece, Syracuse was considered to be the most beautiful city of the world in Cicero’s day. In Chapter 10, Andreas Willi – extending the approach adopted in his *Sikelismos* to the Hellenistic Age – shows how an enduring sense of Syracusan pride still echoes in Theocritus’ *Syracusans*. In Hellenistic times Syracuse may well have been regarded as ‘periphery’, but in fact Alexandria’s claim to superiority was also at risk, given that the city was located outside mainland Greece, whose culture it had to import. Insofar as the Syracusans were Corinthians and Peloponnesian – Willi argues – they were more part of the centre than the Alexandrians. In fact, as he claims, from a political point of view Hellenistic Syracuse was far from standing at the ‘periphery’. Indeed, Hellenistic Sicily – largely under Syracuse’s control – was the epitome of western Greek culture. Theocritus was steeped in Sicilian literature and his hybridization of bucolic poetry, mime and epos – before being typically Hellenistic – is fundamentally distinctive of colonial Sicily.

At the dawn of the Hellenistic Age Syracuse also played a paramount role in forming a Sicilian linguistic identity for centuries to come, in that it was responsible for the spread of the ‘Doric koina’ in the island. The interpretation of this linguistic variety is controversial, as Susana Mimblera discusses in Chapter 8. Following Consani (1996), Willi (2008: 45–6) traces it back to the fifth century BC and interprets it as another marker for early egalitarianism in the Greek colonial world: as proof of its tendency towards unity and shared values, rather than merely a consequence of the aggressive expansion of Syracuse. For her part, Mimblera concludes that the Attic-Ionic koine had an important part in forging the Sicilian Doric koina and that it is impossible to tell whether this variety of the language was Syracusan-based or not. She posits that the linguistic situation of Hellenistic Sicily was one

of diglossia, with an opposition between the Doric koina and the Attic-Ionic koine, though it is not possible to determine which of the two varieties was perceived as 'high'. At the same time, the relation between the two varieties is difficult to pin down, partly owing to the fact that, as Mimbrera argues, the Sicilian Doric koina 'is an abstract notion, since there was not a completely uniform variety, except perhaps for public documents'. The persistence of Doric, all the more significant in that there seem to have been no public inscriptions in Attic-Ionic koine until the end of the Hellenistic Age, may be seen as another sign of Sicilian uniqueness and colonial pride.

The uniqueness of Sicily's 'epigraphic culture'

Throughout this Introduction – and indeed, throughout this volume – inscriptions serve as the main sources of information. Yet, as various authors remark (e.g. Poccetti, Korhonen and myself), Sicilian epigraphy remains a difficult field. One reason for this is the lack of up-to-date comprehensive corpora (*IG XIV* and *CIL X* being obsolete). This, however, must only be part of the problem, since in recent years many thematic and museum corpora have been published.¹²³ The other side of the question is that, despite its rich cultural and linguistic history, Sicily has yielded a comparatively limited number of inscriptions. As Mimbrera notes in [Chapter 7](#), although Sicily is the largest island in the Mediterranean, its inscriptional record is inferior to that of Crete. It is particularly striking that Syracuse – by far the most important Sicilian city and one of the most populated in the Greek world – has yielded a negligible number of inscriptions for the whole of the Greek period and beyond. The gaps in the epigraphic record also make it impossible to gain good knowledge of several areas of Sicilian Greek grammar and mean that certain linguistic phenomena may only be known through evidence from a particular city.

¹²³ Indigenous languages: Agostiniani's *IAS*; Greek dialectal inscriptions: Dubois' *IGDS* I and II, Arena's *ISic.MG* I–V; Phoenician: Guzzo Amadasi (1967) and Amadasi Guzzo (1990); Palermo: Manni Piraino's *IGPalermo* and Bivona's *ILPalermo*; Termini Imerese: Bivona's *ILTermini*; Catania: Korhonen's *IMCCatania*; Messina: Bitto's *IGLMessina*; Aeolian islands: Bernabò Brea, Cavalier and Campagna's *IGLLipari; defixiones*: Bettarini (2005); Christian inscriptions: Agnello (1953).

Letting numbers speak, Prag (2002: 20) offers a tentative count of 1,617 texts for the whole period running from the seventh century BC to the seventh century AD. Dividing this figure by 14 (the total number of centuries), we get 115 inscriptions per century. Actually, even less evidence survives from those centuries that are of most interest to classicists, particularly for the issue of language contact. In some cases such low numbers cannot be wholly attributed to chance or the lack of proper archaeological research. A good example is the sixth/fifth century BC divide. Prag (2002: 22 Fig. 2.1) counts up to about eighty-five lapidary inscriptions for the mid-sixth century BC, but this number drops to about twenty by the end of the fifth century BC. Yet, the fifth century is one of the best-known periods in Sicilian history.

The purpose of this statistical overview is to suggest a few interpretative keys for Sicilian 'epigraphic culture'.¹²⁴ To make numbers speak, it is useful to look at textual typology (i.e. the content, length, language and material execution of the inscriptions). Dialectal inscriptions collected in Dubois' *IGDS* I and II give us a fairly complete picture of the inscriptional categories representative of archaic and classical Sicilian epigraphy. The most common textual types are as follows: (1) *miscellanea* (individual names, artists' signatures, erotic graffiti, etc.); (2) non-metrical dedications; (3) non-metrical epitaphs; (4) *defixiones*; (5) ownership inscriptions; (6) laws and decrees; (7) contracts; (8) metrical dedications; (9) metrical epitaphs; (10) other metrical texts (*IGDS* I 151: ownership inscription; *IGDS* I 167: symposiastic inscription). Although Sicily was famous as the home of the important legislator Charondas, the number of extant laws and decrees is remarkably low.¹²⁵

¹²⁴ 'Epigraphic culture' (a more fashionable expression for 'epigraphic habit') may be defined as 'the environment within which the culture of inscribing was practised and displayed': Oliver (2000a: 15). Also see the classic MacMullen (1982), as well as Woolf (1996) and Prag (2002).

¹²⁵ Cf. Jameson, Jordan and Kotansky (1993: 5), commenting on the lack of laws on stone from Selinous. Is the low number of Sicilian laws to be linked to the socio-political organization of the Sicilian *poleis*? According to Davies (2003: 338), 'the frequency with which a polity set up public documents reflected the "advancedness" of its democracy'. He regards Syracuse as an exception, as the city was 'intermittently democratic but epigraphically inert'. Willi (2008: 313) assumes that Charondas' laws must have been fixed in written form and displayed in a prominent public space, but

Another fact that we must bring into the picture is that, overall, Sicilian inscriptions are rather poor in terms of both execution and materials. Limestone and sandstone are the most common stones, while the use of marble – a material not naturally available on the island – appears to be closely linked to the arrival of the Romans.¹²⁶ Conversely, texts on metal constitute a large part of the pre-Roman epigraphic material. To these, for the Hellenistic period, one must add the Entella tables, dating to the third century BC, and the many contracts on lead tablets collected in *IGDS* II (e.g. nos. 50–60). Together with Camarina, Selinous is the main find-spot of these texts on metal, which include not only *defixiones*,¹²⁷ but also an important *lex sacra* (*IGDS* II 18) and a funerary text (Rocca 2009: 1–7), as well as incantations and a recently published elusive text dealing with a nocturnal mystery rite.¹²⁸

Considering textual typology down to the late Empire, the majority of Sicilian inscriptions across the centuries are funerary ones (70 per cent of Prag's total). Prag (2007b: 257) argues that a large number of Sicilian public inscriptions appeared in the third-century phase of transition, when Hellenistic Sicily became a Roman province. This is also the period in which funerary epigraphy reaches its lowest point.¹²⁹ Archaeology comes to our rescue here: as noted above, the third century BC witnessed a surge in public building work, which Hiero II employed as a sounding board for his political propaganda, as he sought to gain political consensus by strengthening his ties with the local aristocracy.¹³⁰ Theatres, *agorai* and *gymnasia* functioned as places in which citizens could be trained for public life, while also serving as outlets

there is no historical evidence for this and epigraphic remains rather point to a limited public display of laws.

¹²⁶ Prag (2002: 26).

¹²⁷ The *corpus* in Bettarini (2005) is now complemented by three other texts in Rocca (2009: 8–11, 17–22).

¹²⁸ *Ed. pr.* in Jordan and Kotansky (2011). This remarkable text appears to contain the longer version of an incantation connected to the cult of Demeter and Kore that is attested in other tablets from the Greek world, including two from Selinous, published by Rocca (2009: 23–48).

¹²⁹ On the peak of inscriptions in the period between the end of the Republic and the first two centuries of the Empire, see Woolf (1996: 22–4).

¹³⁰ See e.g. Campagna (2004: 178–9) on the interpretation of *cunei* inscriptions from the theatre in Syracuse.

for the ‘ambition and civic competition’ of the local (aristocratic) elites.¹³¹

By approaching surviving epigraphic data in the light of the archaeological material, we get a picture of Hellenistic Sicily as a place in which individuals – kings such as Hiero II and other members of the elite – cast themselves in the role of upholders of the community and of its values. This was a largely elitist society which promoted an apparently ‘democratic’ – but in fact populist – public spirit. The Romans encouraged the perpetuation of its civic structures within a new political framework.

The paucity of metrical inscriptions – if we discard the idea that it is uniquely dependent on chance – ties in with the literary critique of the traditional world of the epos studied by Willi (2008), which goes hand in hand with the development of specifically colonial genres that later gave way to prose: from Epicharmus’ *dramata* to Sophron’s mimes, from Empedocles’ hexametric poetry to Gorgias’ prose, with history emerging as the strongest genre.¹³² It is hardly surprising that by the mid-fifth century lyric poetry, a genre still very much in fashion in mainland Greece, was practically dead in Sicily.¹³³

¹³¹ Prag (2007a: 97), Ferruti (2004: 195).

¹³² This development is mirrored in Magna Graecia, where Parmenides’ hexameters and Pythagoric poetry later gave way to Zeno’s prose and that of the Pythagoreans.

¹³³ The only exception is the dithyrambic poet Telestes of Syracuse, active in the second half of the fifth century BC: see Arrighetti (1980a: 142–3).

PART I

NON-CLASSICAL LANGUAGES

CHAPTER I

LANGUAGE RELATIONS IN SICILY

Evidence for the speech of the Σικανοί, the Σικελοί and others

Paolo Poccetti

Introduction

The linguistic history of Sicily in the two millennia that precede our era is amongst the most interesting and problematic in the ancient Mediterranean world. Evidence for the importance of Sicily within the Mediterranean basin dates back to the second millennium BC. Archaeological remains point to relations with eastern Mediterranean countries on the one hand and with the indigenous populations of Italy on the other. This includes not only the southern part of the Italian peninsula, but also the Tyrrhenian coast of central Italy. Such evidence generally agrees with the information provided by the Greek literary sources, starting from the mid-first millennium BC. As concerns Aegean connections, several manufactured products with syllabic writing signs point in particular to relations with the Minoan writing system, which is mainly attested in Crete.¹ Pre-literary connections between the two major islands of the eastern and central Mediterranean are reflected by the tale of the Cretan king Minos and of Daedalus in Sicily.² Relations with Crete as well as with a more distant Mediterranean island, Rhodes, are also suggested by the process of Greek colonization – in particular, events such as the founding of Gela by Cretan and Rhodian colonists.

The earliest evidence for alphabetic writing dates back to the late sixth century in the case of Greek and to roughly a century later in the case of native languages. The situation in Sicily thus appears to differ from that in the Italian peninsula, where the earliest inscriptions appear more than a century earlier (in the late

¹ See Negri (2002). ² See Hdt. 7.170.

eighth century BC in the case of Greek inscriptions and in the seventh century BC in the case of texts in native languages such as Etruscan, Latin and Faliscan).³ Moreover, unlike in continental Italy, epigraphic writing in Greek increases over the centuries, whereas native-language inscriptions cover a more limited time span and are far scarcer and of poorer quality.

In parallel to the evidence for writing, the linguistic history of pre-Roman Sicily is quite different from that of Italy, including the southern part of the Italian peninsula, which was equally affected by Greek colonization. In the context of western Greek colonization, Σικελία is known to have been sharply distinguished from Μεγάλη Ἑλλάς (Magna Graecia).⁴ However, in the earliest historical sources Σικελία appears to be conceived in opposition to Ἰταλία, which originally only referred to the territory on the opposite side of the Straits. In other words, both names, Σικελία and Ἰταλία, originated within the Straits area as a means of differentiating between the inhabitants on the two sides, which included Greeks as well as non-Greeks. Their derivatives Ἰταλιῶται and Σικελιῶται, which are morphologically parallel, reflect a distinction based not simply on geography, but also on broader ethno-linguistic and cultural factors.

This ancient distinction between Ἰταλιῶται and Σικελιῶται has survived right down to our own era. Modern Sicilian dialects, for instance, remain quite separate from the system of southern Italian dialects.⁵ Moreover, the sociolinguistic distribution of the Greek language in Sicily in the period of the koine and under Roman rule down to Late Antiquity differs from that in the southern part of the Italian peninsula.⁶

Nevertheless, the linguistic history of Sicily cannot be kept separate from that of the Italian peninsula. Important evidence for the connection between the two may be traced back to prehistoric times. To various extents, awareness of this interrelation may be seen to pervade the whole of Greek and Roman historiography. Recently discovered epigraphic evidence largely agrees with

³ See Imperato (1994).

⁴ On these concepts and their historical background, see Maddoli (1982) and Mele (1982).

⁵ Fanciullo (1984: 140). ⁶ Consani (1996: 116–19), (1997).

the ancient sources on this point (see below). Evidence for contacts of various degrees of intensity between Sicily and different parts of the Italian peninsula may be found, such as the archaic trade exchanges with Etruria and Latium, traditions about artistic imports and Sicilian technological influence on early Rome, distinctive cultural features shared by both sides of the Straits, the immigration of Samnite and Campanian mercenaries, the Adriatic policy of Syracuse and Roman military and commercial interests in the Mediterranean island. What all this suggests is the endurance of personal and linguistic contacts flowing in both directions.

Ancient names of Sicily and its inhabitants

Significantly, ‘Sicily’ is the only name of a western Mediterranean country that can safely be identified in Near Eastern as well as Egyptian sources from the second millennium BC onwards. An Akkadian text from Ugarit dating to the twelfth century BC refers to someone who was captured by a population skilled in seafaring, whose name is given as *ši-ka-la-iu-ú*. This text also mentions a country named *ši-ki-la* (i.e. KUR^{uru} *ši-ki-la*), which is likely to be the base of the ethnic name *ši-ka-la-iu-ú*. Both *ši-ki-la* and *ši-ka-la-iu-ú* coincide with the Egyptian form *škrš*, representing *Šekeleš*; and may correspond to Σικελοί.⁷ More convincing evidence suggesting that these names refer to the inhabitants of ancient Sicily comes from the fact that other names probably referring to western Mediterranean populations are listed as those of ‘sea peoples’ in Egyptian sources.⁸

The Homeric poems call the island Σικανίη.⁹ Σικελός is used both as an ethnic name for its inhabitants and as a personal name. Most of these occurrences are found in the *Odyssey*, where Σικελή is repeatedly mentioned as the name of an old woman, an experienced and respected servant in Laertes’ household.¹⁰ This would seem to imply slave trade between Greece and Sicily, particularly in the light of another passage from the *Odyssey* in which Σικελοί are described as regularly purchasing slaves from Odysseus’ rivals.¹¹

⁷ Lehmann (1979), Edel (1984). ⁸ Edel (1984), Drews (2000: 178).

⁹ *Od.* 24.307. ¹⁰ *Od.* 24.211, 366, 389. ¹¹ *Od.* 20.383.

In other words, the Homeric poems record the term Σικελός as both an ethnic and personal name, but not Σικελία as a geographical name. The name given for the island is instead Σικανίη, based on Σικανός – which, however, is never used in the poems.

The replacement of the name Σικανίη by Σικελία is attested by Herodotus in his tale of Minos. In his search for Daedalus, the Cretan King is said to have reached ‘Σικανίη, now called Σικελία’, where he was killed.¹² Herodotus clearly felt obliged to clarify the meaning of Σικανίη – a term used by his sources – by referring to the contemporary name of the island.¹³ According to Thucydides, it was the arrival of the Σικελοί from Italy that caused the island to be given the name of Σικελία, as opposed to Σικανία.¹⁴ This change, however, is not chronologically consistent with the arrival of the Σικελοί on the island three hundred years before the Greeks – according to Thucydides’ dating¹⁵ – in that Σικανίη still occurs in the *Odyssey*. Finally, Aristotle’s expression Σικανίη τῆς Σικελίας¹⁶ suggests not so much a distinction between Σικανοί and Σικελοί as a partial overlap between a current name and a previous one.

All this shows that the names Σικανοί and Σικελοί already existed from the time of the earliest sources. The fact that the island’s name alternated between Σικανία and Σικελία shows not only that foreign sources had different perspectives, but also that the Σικελοί grew increasingly important. It is likely that the name Σικελοί acquired ethno-political significance from the fifth century BC onwards, as is shown by its attestation in Herodotus and by the appearance of the cognomen *Siculus* in the most ancient Roman consular lists. To be more precise, the cognomen *Siculus* belonged to the *gens Cloelia* and a *Cloelius Siculus* is recorded as consul in 498 BC. This fact, suggesting that Rome’s relations with Sicily date back to the beginning of the Republican age (see below), shows how much greater significance the name *Siculi* (= Σικελοί) had gained over *Sicani* (= Σικανοί).

Thucydides was the first to draw a distinction between Σικελιῶται and Σικελοί – the former being ‘Sicilian Greeks’, the latter

¹² Hdt. 7.170: ἐς Σικανίην τὴν δὲ νῦν καλουμένην Σικελίην. ¹³ Cf. Hdt. 6.22.

¹⁴ Thuc. 6.2.5: καὶ ἀντὶ Σικανίας Σικελίαν τὴν νῆσον ἐποίησαν καλεῖσθαι.

¹⁵ Thuc. 6.2.5. ¹⁶ Ar. *Mete.* 359b. See also Albanese Procelli (2003b: 19).

the natives of the island.¹⁷ However, a later historian, Diodorus Siculus, explicitly uses Σικελιῶται to refer to ‘the natives who learned the Greek language and then, having been brought up in the Greek way of life, lost their barbarian speech as well as their name, all of them being called Σικελιῶται’.¹⁸ What this evidence suggests is that the appellations Σικελιῶται, Σικανοί and Σικελοί cannot be taken as rigorous distinctions drawn between native and non-native speakers. The distribution of the two terms – and indeed the confusion between them – in the ancient glosses points to the same conclusion, as we shall later see.

Both Σικανοί and Σικελοί are mentioned in the oldest ethnographical traditions (fifth century BC), which respectively reflect the Athenian perspective (via Thucydides and Hellanicus of Lesbos) and its Sicilian counterpart, the Syracusan (for both Antiochus and Philistus hailed from Syracuse). After their occurrence in Homer, Σικανός and Σικελός are epigraphically attested in late sixth-century Athens as the personal names of potters and vase painters.¹⁹ The presence of Σικελά and Σικελία as feminine names in graffiti – including offensive ones – on Attic vases²⁰ further suggests that sixth- and fifth-century Athens was a centre of immigration from Sicily. The relatively low social standing of the characters mentioned in these inscriptions – slaves and craftsmen – suggests they came from indigenous settlements. By contrast, a famous example of intellectual immigration from a Greek settlement to fifth-century Athens is the case of Gorgias of Leontinoi.

Another personal name possibly connected to that of Sicily is Σίκων, which is quite commonly attested for Athenian citizens (in inscriptions dated to c.460 BC),²¹ and is also used for slaves (in Aristophanes’ plays).²² Σίκων, which is usually considered a hypocoristic of Σικανός and Σικελός,²³ might also be explained

¹⁷ So *LSJ* s.v. Σικελιῶτης. ¹⁸ D.S. 6.6.7.

¹⁹ *LGPV* III, 397; Trendall (1967: 510).

²⁰ *LGPV* III, 397; Albanese Procelli (2003b: 22).

²¹ See Trendall (1967: 213): ‘The inscription Σίκων on the painter’s name vase is of considerable interest both because of the rarity of such inscriptions in Campanian and for its possible association with Sicily, since Σίκων, which is common enough as a slave name, seems to be a shorter form of Σικελός.’

²² E.g. Arist. *Eccl.* 867; see also Wikén (1937: 113).

²³ See Bechtel (1917: 543), Wikén (1937: 60, 69, 113), Dubois (2008: 81, 155 n. 49).

as a morphological variation of the same root (i.e. *Sik-ol-ā* ~ *Sik-ōn*), paralleled in Indo-European languages such as Latin (e.g. *catus/Catōn*; *Roma* ~ *Rumōn*), Greek (e.g. Μύσκος/Μύσκων) and Sabellian (e.g. *Furfā-lo-* ~ *Furfōn*).²⁴ In other words, Σίκων is morphologically consistent with Σικανός and Σικελός and points to a common onomastic basis.²⁵

In Sicily itself, by contrast, only Σικανός occurs as a proper name (in Selinous, Camarina and Syracuse).²⁶ Interestingly, the female name Σικαινία occurs in an archaic inscription from a mixed settlement in Southern Italy (Petelia).²⁷ The name may be explained either as a feminine counterpart of Σίκων (if corrected to Σίκαιν{ι}α), parallel to Λάκων ~ Λάκαινα, or (if corrected to Σικα{ι}νία) as the earlier word for the island, here used as a personal name, parallel to the name of Crete, which is also attested as a female personal name in the same Petelia area.²⁸ At any rate, Σικανός and Σικελός, which derive from a common root displaying the typical morphology of the Italic name system, cannot be considered purely Greek names. Both suffixes *-(e)lo-* and *-āno-*, which commonly occur in ethnic and personal names in Latin as well as in the Sabellian languages (e.g. *Romulus* (> Etruscan *Rumel-na*)²⁹ ~ *Romanus*; *Aequanus* ~ *Aequiculus*),³⁰ are frequently attested in Sicily: the former, in personal names (such as Ἀπελος and Τίτελος from Selinous³¹ and Εἶελος from Entella³²); the latter, in local place names, such as Ὀπικανός and Λογγάνη.³³ The name Μορφιανός,³⁴ which is attested epigraphically and may derive from a place name, reveals that the suffix *-āno-* could also be applied to a Greek base: Μορφία or Μόρφιον.

To sum up, the names Σικανοί and Σικελοί attributed to the inhabitants of Sicily by Greek sources reflect patterns of word-formation typical of the Italic languages. Consequently, these names cannot

²⁴ Leumann (1977: 360–3). ²⁵ As recognized by Durante (1964–5: 420).

²⁶ *IGDS* I 29, 120; *IGDS* II 46. ²⁷ Dubois (2002: no. 93).

²⁸ Dubois (2002: no. 3). For the connection with the name of Crete, see Lazzarini (2000: 18), while Dubois (2002: 21) is more cautious.

²⁹ C. De Simone (2006).

³⁰ For the variants *-(e/o)lo-* and *-k(e/o)lo-* as morphemes of ethnic names see Zucchelli (1969: 219–21).

³¹ *IGDS* I 38. See further Chapter 5. ³² Lejeune (1982).

³³ Manni (1981: 93, 197). ³⁴ *IGDS* I 109.3.

have been created by the Greeks. Rather, the Greeks are likely to have adopted self-appellations in use among native Sicilian inhabitants. But to what extent these appellations correspond to genuine ethnic or linguistic differences is difficult to tell. The occurrence of Σικελός in Akkadian and Egyptian texts dating back to the second millennium BC, and of both Σικανός and Σικελός in the oldest Greek sources (Homer and sixth-century Attic epigraphy), is indicative of the remarkable spread of these names in the Mediterranean area since archaic times. Neither literary texts nor inscriptions suggest any concrete linguistic, cultural or social distinction between the ethnic names Σικανοί and Σικελοί; the only sources to do so are the antiquarian tales collected by Greek historians about the origins of these peoples.

Identity and identification of the indigenous languages

The attempt to draw any linguistic picture of Sicily poses a serious challenge to ethnological approaches and studies in contact languages. The island has stood at the crossroads of different cultures and languages since prehistoric times, owing to its central position in the Mediterranean basin. Ancient sources repeatedly insist on the mixed nature of the inhabitants of the island at almost any time in its history.

Ancient ethnography distinguishes three ethnic names for the indigenous populations of Sicily: Σικανοί, Σικελοί and Ἑλυμοί, i.e. Sicans, Sicels and Elymians. The most ancient source for this distinction is the famous chapter that opens Thucydides' sixth book, the 'Sicilian *Archaiologia*'. This chapter reveals the acquaintance of late fifth-century Athenians with the most ancient traditions concerning the origins of the population of Sicily.

Whereas the geographical location of the Elymians, in the western part of the island, is clearly pointed out by Thucydides (in his reference to the main Elymian cities, Eryx and Segesta), only a vague outline is provided by the Athenian historian for the territorial distribution of Σικανοί and Σικελοί: the former are said to inhabit the southern part of Sicily, the latter the northern part. This evidence from Thucydides has exercised a considerable influence

on attempts made to determine the possible boundary between Sicans and Sicels and consequently on the attribution of epigraphic evidence prior to modern investigations.

In Thucydides' 'Sicilian *Archaologia*', the origins of the Σικανοί, Σικελοί and Ἐλυμοι are connected to different waves of immigration: the Σικανοί are said to have arrived from the Iberian peninsula (even if another tradition is recorded about their indigenous origin),³⁵ the Σικελοί from the Italian peninsula (a point on which there is general agreement among Greek historians)³⁶ and the Ἐλυμοι from Troy, after its fall. Interestingly, the formation of these ethnic groups is described as a blend of various languages and cultures. Thus, according to Thucydides, the Ἐλυμοι were Trojans who together with Phocaeans Greeks settled in the territory of the Σικανοί, so that 'they were called, as a people, Elymians' (ξύμπαντες ἐκλήθησαν Ἐλυμοι).³⁷ It is possible that the Greeks of Sicily gave this name to the Elymians on the basis of their customary food, ἔλυμος 'millett'.³⁸ By contrast, Thucydides' contemporary Hellanicus argues for a southern Italian origin of the Ἐλυμοι, paralleling what he says about the Σικελοί.³⁹

More generally, ancient sources emphasize the mixed origins of many Greek colonies in Sicily, often due to migrations or socio-political changes. For instance, Cretan and Rhodian colonists are said to have jointly founded Gela. Zancle, a city on the Straits of Messina – whose name is connected to a 'Sicel' word for 'sickle' (τὸ δρέπανον οἱ Σικελοὶ ζάγκλον καλοῦσιν),⁴⁰ a fact which points to an indigenous settlement – was initially founded by Euboean and Chalcidian colonists and later settled by Samians and other Ionians. Finally, after falling into the hands of Anaxilas, the city became filled with 'mingled people' (ξυμμείκτων ἀνθρώπων).⁴¹

³⁵ Alleged by the Σικανοί themselves, but rejected by Thuc. 6.2.2: Σικανοὶ δὲ μετ' αὐτοὺς πρῶτοι φαίνονται ἑνοικισάμενοι, ὥς μὲν αὐτοὶ φασί, καὶ πρότεροι διὰ τὸ αὐτόχθονες εἶναι, ὥς δὲ ἡ ἀλήθεια εὐρίσκεται, Ἰβηρες ὄντες καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Σικανοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ ὑπὸ Λιγύων ἀναστάντες.

³⁶ Namely Antiochus and Philistus of Syracuse, Hellanicus of Lesbos, Thucydides, Ephorus and Timaeus: see the table presented within Jacoby's commentary to fragment 79 of Hellanicus of Lesbos (*FGH*, Commentar vol. I, 457).

³⁷ Thuc. 6.2.3. For a philological commentary, see Mele (1993–4: 93).

³⁸ See Nenci (1989: 1263). ³⁹ D.H. *Antiquitates Romanae* 1.22.3 = *FGH* 4 F 79.

⁴⁰ Thuc. 6.4.5. ⁴¹ Thuc. 6.4.6.

Significant internal migrations of Greek colonists – such as that which led to the founding of Selinous, on the south-western coast, at the hands of east-coast colonists from Megara Hyblaea – also led to the intermingling of different Greek dialects. For instance, according to Thuc. 6.5.1, in the city of Himera, on the northern coast, a mix of Ionic and Doric was spoken (φωνή μετὰξὺ τῆς τε Χαλκιδέων καὶ Δωρίδος ἐκράθη), owing to the presence of colonists from Zancle and Syracuse. There is also evidence for mingling of Greeks and native people, as in the case of Καλὴ Ἀκτή, which was apparently founded through the joint action of the ‘Sicel’ chief Ducetius and Archonides, the tyrant of Herbita.⁴²

An overall view of the situation is presented in the speech delivered by Alcibiades in 415 BC, exhorting Athenians to launch an expedition against Syracuse: ‘down there the towns are crowded with mingled people (ὄχλοις γὰρ συμμείκτοις πολυανδροῦσιν αἱ πόλεις) frequently accustomed to political revolutions’.⁴³ An analogous picture is presented in Diodorus Siculus’ summary of his own ethnographic description of the island:

The colonies of the Greeks were the last to be made in Sicily. All the inhabitants mingled with one another (ἀναμιγνύμενοι ἀλλήλοις) and since the Greeks came to the island in great numbers, the natives learned their speech and then, having been brought up in the Greek way of life, they lost in the end their barbarian speech as well as their name, all of them being called *Siceliotai*.⁴⁴

What Diodorus implicitly suggests here is that there no longer was any real distinction between Σικανοί and Σικελοί. A new society of Σικελιῶται had arisen through their close interaction with Greek colonies, leading to the loss of native languages and cultures, which were absorbed by the Greek.

The sources

The sources for languages in pre-Roman Sicily essentially consist of three kinds of documents:

⁴² D.S. 12.8.2.

⁴³ Thuc. 6.17.3.

⁴⁴ D.S. 5.6.6.

- (1) information from ancient historians;
- (2) glosses from the literary tradition;
- (3) epigraphic evidence.

These documentary channels provide various perspectives on the crucial question of the ethnic and cultural identity of native Sicilian peoples – of their mutual differences as well as differences with the Greeks.

The interest of Greek historians in Sicily dates back to the fifth century BC. It is shared both by Athenian writers (e.g. Thucydides, Hellanicus of Lesbos) and local Sicilian authors (e.g. Antiochus and Philistus of Syracuse, Timaeus of Tauromenion). Athenian ambitions over Southern Italy (e.g. the colonial foundation of Thurii in 444 BC) and Sicily (e.g. the expedition against Syracuse in 415 BC) imply a certain acquaintance with these places. The special Athenian attention towards Sicily is confirmed by political agreements made with Greek cities such as Leontinoi,⁴⁵ and by the fact that Athens joined forces with the indigenous Σικελοί against Syracuse. The flourishing of local historiography in the fourth century BC is reflected in the works of Philistus of Syracuse and particularly Timaeus of Tauromenion, which served as important sources for writers of the Greco-Roman period, including Strabo and Dionysius of Halicarnassus.

A focal point of interest for Greek historians in their investigations into the most archaic history of Sicily is the origin of the native population of the island, particularly in relation to the Italian peninsula. Roman historiography addressed this question within the wider framework of the ethnography of ancient Italy. Many of the ethnographic details at our disposal we owe to a Greek historian of the Augustan age, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who discusses previous opinions about the origins of the native peoples of Sicily at length in a section of his *Roman Antiquities* devoted to the prehistory of Roman Italy.

Three stages in the classical historiography about ancient Sicily may be distinguished: (1) the Athenian perspective, represented by Thucydides and Hellanicus of Lesbos (fifth century BC); (2) the Sicilian viewpoint, represented by Antiochus of Syracuse,

⁴⁵ See Cataldi (1990: 37–42).

Philistus of Syracuse and Timaeus of Tauromenion (late fifth, early fourth and late fourth century BC respectively); (3) the Roman perspective, represented, on the one hand, by the annalistic tradition and, on the other, by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who embodies the tendency towards synthesis typical of the Augustan age. Unfortunately, apart from Thucydides and Dionysius of Halicarnassus, we possess only fragmentary remains of the other historians' works, which mostly survive as quotes in Dionysius of Halicarnassus.

The information given by Greek historians has variously been employed in the modern investigation of the ancient languages of both Sicily and Italy, in an attempt to combine it with the data from other documentary sources. An example is the opening statement of the chapter on the 'Sicel language' in the handbook by Conway, Whatmough and Johnson (1933: II 431), a crucial twentieth-century reference work for the study of pre-Roman languages:

The Sicels (*Siculi*, Σικελοί) must be reckoned one of the ancient peoples of Italy as well as of Sicily... The ancient tradition makes the Sicels close kin, if not identical with the early inhabitants of Latium; the linguistic evidence, scanty as it is, if it does not confirm the tradition, at least does not, so far as it goes, disprove it.

Inscriptions in native languages from Sicily are extremely poor in terms of both quantity (i.e. the number of texts) and quality (i.e. their typological variety, length and complexity) by comparison to epigraphy in Greek, as more Greek-language inscriptions survive in Sicily than in all the Greek colonies of southern Italy combined. Greek texts are not exclusively found in coastal Greek colonies: they were also increasingly produced in indigenous settlements of the hinterland. Native personal names in Greek inscriptions illustrate the deep Hellenization of the Sicilian interior on the one hand and, on the other, the considerable immigration flow of indigenous peoples toward Greek cities.

Chronologically, epigraphy in native idioms ranges from c.550 BC up until c.400 BC. The starting date coincides with the general appearance of alphabetic writing in the island. The end date coincides with the socio-political changes that followed the unsuccessful rebellion of the Σικελοί under Ducetius and the increasing

power of Syracuse in the west after the defeat of Athens in the Peloponnesian War. Certainly, the ousting of native languages from writing – which also took place in the Elymian area around this time – signals the loss of an important element of identity for the indigenous populations and reflects an increasing degree of conscious Hellenization.

It is within this context that Plato's eighth letter expresses concern over the future of local Greek language and culture, endangered by Opicians and Phoenicians: 'Hardly a trace of the Greek tongue will remain in all Sicily, since it will have been transformed into a province or dependency of Phoenicians or Opicians.'⁴⁶ Significantly, it is not Σικαννοί or Σικελνοί who are mentioned as a threat to Greek identity, but two foreign peoples, Ὀπικκοί and Φοίνικες. The growth of Phoenician speakers was due to the rise of Carthaginian power, which had been controlling the western part of Sicily since archaic times. The presence in Sicily of Ὀπικκοί (the name applied by Greeks to the pre-Roman inhabitants of Campania and Samnium)⁴⁷ in Plato's age was due to mass immigration from these regions to Sicily, largely in the form of mercenary soldiers, as is exhaustively attested in literary, epigraphic and numismatic sources.⁴⁸

Plato's letter does not actually refer to any real disappearance of Greek, as is proven by epigraphic and literary sources. What it suggests is that Greek was being increasingly spoken by foreign people; and among these foreigners, nobody had an interest in learning or speaking the indigenous Sicilian languages, which had already been ousted from written usage.

Ancient historiography

Apart from the Ἑλληνιστοί, who are more easily recognizable from a topographic and epigraphic standpoint, the most serious problem concerns the identity of the two ethnic groups described as Σικαννοί

⁴⁶ Pl. *Epist.* 8.353e. See also Poccetti (1989: 111), Musti (2002: 8) and Clackson, Chapter 4.

⁴⁷ See Barbera and Russo (2004).

⁴⁸ A collection of sources for mercenary soldiers in Sicily may be found in Tagliamonte (1994: 223–62).

and Σικελοί. The pivot of the question is the distinction between an objective aspect, concerning the historically concrete distinction between these peoples, and a subjective one, namely the way in which Sicans and Sicels were perceived by the Greeks. Ancient sources tend to draw more of a diachronic than a geographical distinction between Σικελοί and Σικανοί. The latter are said to be more ancient than the Σικελοί and to occupy the central and southern parts of Sicily; the Σικελοί to have arrived more recently and to have settled in the north-eastern part of the island.

More precisely, the most ancient Greek sources – both the ‘Sicilian’ and the ‘Athenian’ branch – agree about the Italian origin of the Σικελοί, while there is much disagreement about the Σικανοί, as stated by Diodorus Siculus: ‘we must now write briefly about the Σικανοί, who were the first inhabitants of Sicily, in view of the fact that certain historians are not in agreement about this people’.⁴⁹ Diodorus provides a long description of the Σικελοί, but gives very scanty information about the Σικανοί, probably owing to a confused perception of the data collected by his predecessors. Thucydides acknowledges the Σικανοί as the most archaic native inhabitants of Sicily; but with regard to their origin, he counters their own claim to indigenoussness by suggesting that they moved out of the Iberian peninsula after being expelled by the Ligurians. Thucydides probably accepted this idea of an Iberian origin of the Σικανοί because of his faith in the Phocaean tradition,⁵⁰ which he mentions with regard to the origin of the Ἐλυμμοί, a story involving a part of the Σικανοί themselves.⁵¹ Indeed Phocaean connections with the Iberian peninsula and the Gaulish coast (such as the colonies of Emporion and Massalia) may account for the diffusion of the story about the Iberian origins of the Σικανοί.

According to Thucydides, by contrast, the Σικελοί emigrated from Italy about three hundred years before the arrival of the Greeks. Fleeing from the Ὀπτικοί, they pushed the Σικανοί to the southern and western parts of the island:

The Sicanians appear to have been the first to settle there after them, indeed, as they themselves assert, even before them, as being indigenous, but as the truth is found to be, they were Iberians and were driven by the Ligurians from the river

⁴⁹ D.S. 5.6.1. ⁵⁰ See Mele (1993–4). ⁵¹ Thuc. 6.2.2.

Sicanus in Iberia . . . The Sicels, again, crossed over from Italy, where they dwelt, to Sicily, fleeing from the Opicans.⁵²

Unlike Thucydides, Hellanicus of Lesbos fixed the date of Sicanian migration ‘in the third generation before the Trojan war’.⁵³ In agreement with him, Philistus of Syracuse states that ‘the date of the crossing was the eightieth year before the Trojan war’.⁵⁴ Antiochus of Syracuse also links the origin of the Σικελοί to other populations of the southern tip of the peninsula, but seemingly without specifying any date:

Antiochus of Syracuse does not give the date of the crossing, but says the people who migrated were the Sicels, who had been forced to leave by the Oenotrians and Opicans and that they chose Straton as leader of the colony. After which he adds these words: ‘thus those who had been Oenotrians became Sicels, Morgetes and Italians’ (Οὕτω δὲ Σικελοὶ καὶ Μοργῆτες ἐγένοντο καὶ Ἰταλιῆτες ἔοντες Οἰνωτροί).⁵⁵

Antiochus provides the most problematic description of the ethno-genesis of the Σικελοί. Unlike other historians, he does not use any word for ‘crossing’ (διάβασις, i.e. of the Straits), or for ‘expulsion’ and ‘being driven out’ (ἐκβαλόντας and βιασθέντας) as a consequence of war or violence. Rather, the Syracusan historian emphasizes an evolutionary process by contrasting ‘being’ and ‘becoming’ (ἐγένοντο . . . ἔοντες) in the formation of the ethnic identity of the Σικελοί. In this process the names of three Italic populations are mentioned: Οἰνωτροί, Μοργῆτες and Ἰταλιῆτες. Οἰνωτροί is the name of a South Italic population situated in the hinterland of the Achaean colonies, whereas Μοργῆτες and Ἰταλιῆτες are unattested elsewhere. Ἰταλιῆτες is apparently a morphological variant of Ἰταλοί, showing an Ionicization of the Sabellian suffix *-āt-* > *-ητ-*,⁵⁶ paralleled by Μοργῆτες, whose root is shared by a series of place names both in Sicily (Μοργάντιον, Μοργαντίνη)⁵⁷ and in Italy (*Murgantia* in Samnium⁵⁸ and Μοργέντιον).⁵⁹

⁵² Thuc. 6.2.2–3. ⁵³ D.H. *Antiquitates Romanae* 1.22.3 = FGH 4 F 79.

⁵⁴ D.H. *Antiquitates Romanae* 1.22.2 = FGH 556 F 46.

⁵⁵ D.H. *Antiquitates Romanae* 1.12.3 = FGH 555 F 2. ⁵⁶ Poccetti (2000: 108).

⁵⁷ Manni (1981: 204). ⁵⁸ Liv. 10.17.

⁵⁹ Quoted by Steph. Byz. simply as πόλις Ἰταλίας. It is not clear whether this place name is to be identified with the place name mentioned by Livy (see previous footnote).

However, two issues are left unsolved in Antiochus' account of the origin of the Σικελοί: (1) the exact meaning and relevance that the ethnonym Μοργήτες has in the series Οἰνωτροί, Μοργήτες, Ἰταλιήτες, given that no regional population is known elsewhere under this name; and (2) the alleged Roman origins of Σικελός, the legendary leader of the Σικελοί, given that the latter were settled in the southernmost part of Italy. We are not sure whether such information derives from Antiochus himself or whether it represents an addition by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who is the source of Antiochus' fragment.

Surely Roman annalistic historiography is responsible for identifying Rome as the homeland of the Σικελοί, in the context of the wider connection between Latin sites and indigenous Sicilian settlements. This view is summed up by Varro's statement *a Roma quod orti Siculi annales veteres dicunt*;⁶⁰ in line with this idea, the writer derived some Latin words from the alleged language of the *Siculi*.⁶¹ More specifically, some fragments from the most ancient Roman annalists – such as Fabius Pictor⁶² and Cassius Hemina⁶³ – mention relations established in olden times between the ancient sites of Latium (including Rome) and some native sites in Sicily.

The inscribed *pinakes* from the library of the gymnasium in Tauromenion lend strength to this story, since they refer to Λανοῖος, a legendary ally of Aeneas and the founder of the Latin town of *Lanuvium* near Rome, who had something to do with Sicily.⁶⁴ The Latin site of *Lanuvium* was traditionally linked with Aeneas' saga and 'Trojan' settlements in Latium.⁶⁵ The Tauromenion *pinakes* remind one of the inscriptional decree emanating from the senate of Centuripe, which attests to the ancient ties of kinship (συγγένεια) between this native Sicilian town and *Lanuvium*.⁶⁶ Cicero also points to archaic ties of kinship between the Romans and both

⁶⁰ Varr. *L.L.* 5.101.

⁶¹ E.g.: *Lepus, quod Siculi, ut Aeolis quidam Graeci dicunt* λέπριν (Varr. *L.L.* 5.101).

⁶² Fabius Pictor seems to have argued for a relation between the Volsci and the Siculi. According to him, the names of these two peoples are cognate: *Fabius quoque a Siculis profectos corrupto nomine Vulscos ait dictos* (fr. 1 Peter). Nevertheless the attention drawn by Fabius Pictor to archaic connections between *Volsci* and *Siculi* can hardly be separated from his interest in the origins of Rome and the Latin civilization.

⁶³ Cassius Hemina fr. 2, 3 Peter = 2, 3 Santini.

⁶⁴ Manganaro (1974: 392); Battistoni (2006: 175–8).

⁶⁵ Zevi (1999: 320). ⁶⁶ Manganaro (1963b: 27).

Centuripe and Segesta.⁶⁷ Whatever the implications of this historical perspective may have been for Rome's policy towards the island in the classical period, the idea that the Σικελοί had connections with both Rome and Latium was undoubtedly much older; indeed, it agrees with the notion of an 'Italian' origin assigned to the Σικελοί by the Greek historians of the fifth century BC. Divergences uniquely concern their region of provenance: the Tyrrhenian coast of Latium, according to the Roman annalistic tradition; the Straits' area at the very tip of Italy, according to the Syracusan Antiochus; or an intermediate area (Campania, Samnium or Lucania), as recorded by Thucydides with regard to the Ὀπικοί.⁶⁸ Moreover, the Roman account of archaic connections between Latium and Sicily reflects the legend according to which the Romans and the native inhabitants of Sicily (namely the Σικελοί and Ἑλυμοί) had common 'Trojan' origins. Unsurprisingly, Cicero mentions both Centuripe in east Sicily (a site representing the Σικελοί) and Segesta in the west (a city representing the Elymian area) as both connected with the Romans by ancient ties, including ties of kinship (*officiis, fide, vetustate . . . cognatione*).

To sum up, both Athenian historians (Thucydides and Hellanicus of Lesbos) and Syracusan ones (Antiochus and Philistus) agree in tracing the origins of the Σικελοί back to a people of ancient Italy. The Roman annalistic tradition agrees with these views, which go back to the fifth century BC. The divergences concerning the area from where the Σικελοί hailed have consequences for the choice of the name given to its inhabitants. Dionysius of Halicarnassus sums it up as follows: Thucydides identifies it with the Ὀπικοί, Philistus with the Ligurians (Λίγυες) and Hellanicus and Antiochus with the Ἄυσονες and the Οἰνωτροί respectively.⁶⁹ In spite of slight differences in dating, the ancient historians generally agree that the migration of these people took place in the second half of the second millennium BC.

Philistus is the only historian who connects the Σικελοί with the Ligurians, a population outside the peninsula. In doing so, he was

⁶⁷ Cic. Verr. 5.83: *ubi Segestana, ubi Centuripina civitas? Quae cum officiis, fide, vetustate tum etiam cognatione populi Romani nomen attingunt.*

⁶⁸ On the meaning of the ethnonym Ὀπικοί in ancient sources, see above n. 47.

⁶⁹ D.H. *Antiquitates Romanae* 1.22.2.

probably inspired by Thucydides' description of the alleged Iberian origins of the Σικανοί, as the Ligurians – who had settled along the Mediterranean coast between Gaul and Spain – were considered close to the Iberians. Still, an additional political or ideological motive cannot be ruled out. The Syracusan historian, who was also an army general, probably wished to deny the existence of any connection between the Σικελοί and Rome on account of the hostility harboured by his hometown towards the increasing power of the Romans.⁷⁰

Later historians, such as Diodorus Siculus and Dionysius of Halicarnassus focus much more on the Σικελοί than the Σικανοί, which suggests not only that they had far fewer sources about the latter at their disposal, but also that the Σικανοί had become a rather ill-defined entity. Significantly, after listing his information about the origins of the Σικελοί, Diodorus Siculus puts off his description about the Σικανοί to another occasion: 'we shall give a detailed account of the Σικανοί at the appropriate time'.⁷¹ However, 'no such account is found in the extant books of Diodorus'.⁷²

Glosses

Until the 1950s, knowledge of the native languages of Sicily was based on literary glosses rather than epigraphic material. The ancient appellations Σικελιῶται, Σικανοί and Σικελοί and particularly the Italic origin attributed to the Σικελοί by ancient sources strongly influenced the modern classification and interpretation of the glosses mostly transmitted by Hesychius' lexicon. This is best illustrated by the firm opinion expressed in the above-mentioned handbook by Conway, Whatmough and Johnson (1933: II 432):

The glosses on Sicel words may certainly be interpreted to imply that Sicel was closely related to the idioms of ancient Italy . . . and perhaps even to the tongue which afterwards developed into what we know as the *Lingua Latina*.

⁷⁰ Other political reasons too cannot be excluded, given that Philistus was a commandant in the Syracusan army in the age of the two Dionysuses, if we consider the Syracusan aim of good relations with north-western Mediterranean countries and the fact that Iberians, Celts and Ligurians were enlisted among the mercenaries in Sicily.

⁷¹ D.S. 5.6.5. ⁷² See Oldfather (1961: 113 n. 1).

A turning point in modern research into the native languages of Sicily occurred in the 1950s and 1960s, when V. Pisani criticized the idea that these languages shared special affinities with Latin by focusing more on the few surviving epigraphic texts than on the glosses.⁷³ At Pisani's inspiration, a systematic collection of epigraphic materials was published by Schmoll.⁷⁴ Still, the precise position of native Sicilian languages in relation to the Italic branch of Indo-European continued to be a controversial matter up until the 1970s,⁷⁵ as was the classification of the Elymian language.⁷⁶ In the late 1960s, in a philologically critical re-assessment of the glosses assigned to the Σικελοί, E. Campanile argued that many of them could not be considered to provide authentic, direct evidence for the native languages of Sicily.

The glosses explicitly attributed to Σικελιῶται and Σικελοί number over seventy.⁷⁷ Significantly, no gloss is assigned to the Σικανοί. Even those words which might be supposed to come from the south-west of the island – the area allegedly inhabited by the Σικανοί – such as the gloss Νῆστις Σικελική θεός quoted by Empedocles of Akragas,⁷⁸ are in fact attributed to the Σικελοί.

The vast majority of glosses is linked to quotations from Doric comedy, which flourished in Sicily before Aristophanes' time – the greatest representatives of this genre being Epicharmus and Sophron. Many of the glosses, therefore, concern fragments from these important authors of early fifth-century Sicilian theatre. This documentary evidence suggests that the terms discussed in the glosses were used in plays for specific comic purposes. The corpus of Sicilian glosses consists of very heterogeneous texts about the characters of these popular plays, the reconstruction of which raises several philological problems. A general semantic one concerns the exact meaning of each gloss, since accompanying textual fragments only rarely shed light on the wider lexical context of these words.

⁷³ Pisani (1953). ⁷⁴ Schmoll (1958).

⁷⁵ See the different views of Durante (1964–5), Lejeune (1972–3) and Zamboni (1978).

⁷⁶ Agostiniani (2006a: 685) and Willi (2008: 336).

⁷⁷ The Sicilian glosses transmitted by Greek authors are collected in K.-A. 176–262. A more extensive collection, which also includes Latin sources, may be found in Conway, Whatmough and Johnson (1933: II 449–77).

⁷⁸ Conway, Whatmough and Johnson (1933: II 455).

Most of the glosses contain local Sicilian varieties of the Greek language, partly influenced by contacts with native languages and partly connected with a wider circulation of words common to other languages within the Mediterranean basin. Only a minority of glosses, which is difficult to quantify exactly, may be more or less closely connected to the indigenous languages of Sicily. Clearly, these glosses do not enable us to precisely define the morpho-phonological structures of the native languages. In many cases, however, they enable us to outline processes whereby foreign words were adapted to the dominant languages (Greek and Latin). In conclusion, the corpus of so-called ‘Sicilian glosses’ provides evidence for language contact, as opposed to a genuine picture of the native languages. Consequently, they cannot be used as evidence for genetic relationships with other languages.

A number of glosses attributed to the Σικελοί concerns metrology in the context of trade. This is the case, for instance, with λίτρα, οὔγκια and νόμος, which are used as units of measurement for weights and coins. These words correspond to terms in Italic languages attested in Latin vocabulary (namely, *libra*, *uncia* and *nummus*), as well as to Sabellian terms (e.g. *uef(ra)* in Umbrian and *numer*⁷⁹ in Umbrian and Oscan).⁸⁰ These convergences result from shared metrological terminology circulating in Italy and Sicily – even when the terms do not refer exactly to the same units of measurement, as is usually the case. The sources and directions of diffusion of these words, however, differ significantly: λίτρα is an originally Italic word that was transmitted to Greek via native Sicilian languages;⁸¹ conversely, Latin *nummus* and Umbrian *numer* are borrowed from the Sicilian or south-Italian Greek word νόμος.⁸² Both λίτρα and νόμος with the meaning ‘coin, money’ (of different kind) are attested in the fragments of Syracusan playwrights Epicharmus and Sophron.⁸³ In the Hellenistic period the meaning ‘coin, money’ of νόμος becomes quite common in both Sicilian

⁷⁹ Untermann (2000: 501, 828). ⁸⁰ *ST Lu* 5.

⁸¹ See Lejeune (1993: 11); particularly with regard to the rendering of a fricative sound /f/ deriving from *dh by occlusive /t/, see Agostiniani (1991: 34).

⁸² See Salveschi (1975: 423).

⁸³ Epich. 9, 10 and 134 K.-A.; Sophr. fr. 62 and 71 K.-A.

and Southern Italian Greek, as shown by the Tables of Heraclea and the Tables of Tauromenion.⁸⁴

Other semantic fields of ‘Sicilian’ glosses closely recalling Italic words are food or nourishment. Examples here are ἄρβιννη ‘meat’,⁸⁵ close to Umbrian *arvia*; ῥόγος ‘granary’, which is identical to Latin *rogus*;⁸⁶ and πόλτος ‘porridge’, which is cognate to Latin *puls*. More problematic is the relation between δάνκλον / ζάνκλον ‘sickle’ – which has been transmitted as the native name of Zancle (Δάνκλη)⁸⁷ – and the Latin pair *daculum/falx*.

Another group of glosses consisting of sexual or injurious vocabulary (the latter often deriving from the former) are surprisingly close to Latin words. This is the case, for instance, with γέρρα ‘female sexual organ’, comparable to Latin *gerae* ‘non-sense’ and *gerro* ‘stupid’, and μυλλός ‘*pudenda muliebra*’ comparable to Latin *molucrum* (same meaning). The gloss νίδες ‘children’s sexual organs’ belongs to the same semantic category. These coincidences, however, might simply reflect the cross-linguistic circulation of abusive language.

Admittedly, a large number of words transmitted through ‘Sicilian’ glosses derive from contacts between Greek and native languages. However, it is often very difficult to determine the direction of the interference, especially in the case of lexical coincidences with Latin and/or Sabellian languages. The problem may be summed up with the two following questions: (1) To what extent did the words transmitted through the glosses arrive in Sicily from Italy and to what extent is the opposite the case? (2) Were these words imported directly or via other languages?

Let us consider a couple of examples. The gloss Παϊκός: Ἑλλη, ⁸⁸ attributed to Epicharmus, attests a variant of the ethnic name of the Greeks shared by various languages of ancient Italy, namely Latin (*Graecus*), Etruscan (*Creicel/Craice*), Venetic (*Graikoi*), the Sabellian languages (through the Paelignan cognomen *Graex*) and perhaps Messapian too.⁸⁹ The quotation from

⁸⁴ Salvaneschi (1975: 423).

⁸⁵ K.-A. 324 no. 191; Conway, Whatmough and Johnson (1933: II 450).

⁸⁶ Cassio (2002a: 67). ⁸⁷ Conway, Whatmough and Johnson (1933: II 450).

⁸⁸ Epich. fr. 180 K.-A.

⁸⁹ For the name of the Greeks in ancient Italy, see Durante (1978).

Epicharmus is roughly contemporary to the earliest mention of the name of the Greeks in Italy (fifth century BC), as reflected in Etruscan personal names. Accordingly, the name of the Greeks was widespread in Italy long before any Latin influence and was probably common to different languages both of the peninsula and of Sicily. However, this fact does not solve the problem of what language is specifically reflected in Epicharmus' play. In other words, does Παῖκος echo a native speaker from Sicily or one from the Peninsula? Clearly, the first alternative would imply that there was significant agreement between a given Sicilian native language and the languages of the peninsula as to the appellation used for the Greeks – a linguistic convergence that might be traced back to pre-documentary times.

As a variant of *Graiko-* resulting from the loss of the initial voiced occlusive (/gr/ > /r/), Παῖκος also raises a further and more difficult problem. The phonetic development in question might be assigned both to Greek (where it would be more generally connected to the spirantization of <γ>)⁹⁰ and to the native languages of Sicily, as indirectly reflected by the epigraphic evidence, where the sign <γ> is used with the value of /h/ (see below). The same development is also attested in late Latin (e.g. *Granus/Ranus*)⁹¹ and is common in modern dialects of southern Italy (compare e.g. Italian *grande* 'big': Sicilian *ranni*; Italian *graffio* 'scratch': Neapolitan *raffio*).⁹²

A different problem is posed by another gloss on Hercules' name, assigned by Hesychius to the Sicilian playwright Sophron: Ἡρύκαλον· τὸν Ἡρακλέα Σώφρων ὑποκοριστικῶς.⁹³ The morphology of Ἡρύκαλος is not consistent with the hypocoristic word-formation of the Greek language. Firstly, Ἡρακλῆς can hardly be considered a hypocoristic derivative of Ἡρύκαλος. Secondly, we would expect to find *Ἡράκυλ(λ)ος, in agreement with the use of the hypocoristic suffix -υ(λ)λο- with words such as ἄρκτος

⁹⁰ Mostly between vowels (cf. Threatte (1980: 440)) but also in initial syllables before a liquid consonant, e.g. Λαῦκος instead of Γλαῦκος in an Attic vase inscription signalled by Kretschmer (1888: 450) and Kretschmer (1894: 70).

⁹¹ On this variation in a place name derived from an epiclesis of Hercules, see Poccetti (1993).

⁹² Rohlf's (1966: 251). ⁹³ Hsch. s.v. Ἡρύκαλον = Sophr. fr. 134 K.-A.

‘bear’ ~ ἄρκτυλλος ‘small bear’ and ἔρπος ‘snake’ ~ ἔρπυλλος ‘small snake’,⁹⁴ as well as with personal names such as Ἀγαθός ~ Ἀγάθυλλος.

Etruscan *Hercale* in place of *Heracle*⁹⁵ provides a useful parallel if we assume that Ἡρύκαλος may result from a metathesis of *Ἡράκυλ(λ)ος, possibly an intermediate form combining the original vocalism of the Greek base Ἡρα- and the new *o*-stems inflection. The alternating inflection in -κλής/-κλος is common in Greek (e.g. Πατροκλής/Πάτροκλος), except for Hercules’ name. By contrast, evidence for inflection following *o*-stems is found in the languages of ancient Italy: applied to Hercules’ name, it regularly occurs in both Oscan (e.g. *Hereklúí*, dat. sg. *o*-declension) and Latin (e.g. *Herculī*, gen. sg. and *Herclĕ meherclĕ*, voc. sg.).

As for vowel insertion within the consonant cluster *muta cum liquida* /kl/, *Ἡράκυλ(λ)ος does not correspond to the Oscan treatment of the word, as much as to the Latin (e.g. *Hercules*, *periculum*, *vehiculum*), which is paralleled in Sicily by an inscription from the Gela area recording Κύπτρα as a variant of Κύπτρα (see below). Another example of vowel insertion is δάνκλον, a variant of the gloss δάνκλον/ζάνκλον ‘sickle’, which would appear to confirm the provenance of this word from indigenous sources.

In a bilingual context, *Ἡράκυλ(λ)ος might have been understood as combining the hypocoristic function of the Greek suffix -υλ(λ)ο- with Italic suffixes of corresponding value -*k(e/o)-lo-* and -(*e/o*)-*lo-*,⁹⁶ as shown by the parallel between Greek Σῆμος ~ Σίμυλος and Oscan *Pakis* ~ *Pakul*, or again between Greek βαθύς ~ Βάθυλλος and Oscan *Stenis* ~ *Steniklum* (cf. Latin *artus* : *articulus* and *Tullius* : *Tulliola*).

Epigraphic evidence

The ancient distinction between Σικελοί and Σικανοί has variously influenced the modern classification of surviving epigraphic material, as well as the identification of language types. Following the geographical distribution of Σικελοί and Σικανοί introduced by

⁹⁴ Debrunner (1917: 165), Chantraine (1933: 250).

⁹⁵ See *ThLE* 178–9, Colonna (1989–90: 902), Maras (2009: 139, 256).

⁹⁶ Poccetti (2010: 361).

Thucydides, texts found in the southern part of the island have been assigned to the Σικανοί, while inscriptions from central and eastern Sicily have been assigned to the Σικελοί. Moreover, according to the tradition about their indigenous origin, the Σικανοί have been regarded as speakers of a non-Indo-European idiom generally linked to pre-Indo-European languages of the Mediterranean basin.⁹⁷ Even local place names have been invoked as evidence in support of this view.⁹⁸ Yet these agreements in themselves prove nothing but topographical convergences between Sicily and eastern Mediterranean regions.

More recently, the above picture has substantially changed owing to the discovery of new texts. These show that neither linguistic nor graphic evidence may be invoked to draw any clear-cut distinction between Σικελοί and Σικανοί.⁹⁹ In other words, there is no unambiguous way of attributing any given inscription to the Σικανοί as opposed to the Σικελοί and vice versa. Concretely, the inscriptions from areas in which we would expect to find Σικανοί – based on the ancient historiography – do not linguistically differ from those from parts of the island attributed to the Σικελοί. For instance, we have a vase inscription that was discovered in Montagna di Marzo, in the hinterland of Gela, in 1978,¹⁰⁰ which appears to linguistically match texts from the Etna area – traditionally regarded as the heartland of the Σικελοί.

Not even the writing system used appears to vary according to the geographical distribution of the epigraphic evidence for native languages. Indeed, the only feature generally regarded as typical of indigenous Sicilian epigraphy, that is the arrow-shaped *alpha* (see below), cannot be connected to any specific area.¹⁰¹ In conclusion, even if a border between Σικελοί and Σικανοί really existed, it is quite impossible to detect it based on the surviving epigraphic evidence.

⁹⁷ See Zamboni (1978: 994) with previous references. For a more nuanced view, see Durante (1964–5: 420), who does not rule out the possibility that the Σικελοί may also partly belong to a pre-Indo-European stage.

⁹⁸ E.g. Willi (2008: 333): 'Die sizilische Toponomastik spricht ebenfalls für den vorindogermanischen Charakter des Sikanischen'.

⁹⁹ Agostiniani (1991), (1992b), C. De Simone (1999a).

¹⁰⁰ Agostiniani (1992b: 152, no. 18) and Willi (2008: 347), with previous references.

¹⁰¹ Agostiniani (1991: 28).

An overview of Sicilian inscriptions suggests little more than the existence of several varieties of a single language and writing culture. This finding is largely consistent with the evidence provided by the literary sources; in particular: (a) no gloss is assigned to the Σικανοί; and (b) the extant fragments from the Syracusan historians (Antiochus and Philistus) never mention the Σικανοί. All this points to a diachronic rather than a synchronic distinction between Σικελοί and Σικανοί. Synchronically, a Greek perception of cultural differences might account for this distinction, which apparently finds no linguistic counterpart. Some clues for cultural differences between the north-eastern area and the southern one are provided by archaeological evidence,¹⁰² as well as by differences in textual typology (see below).¹⁰³ This distinction is paralleled by the perspective of modern dialectology, showing that the north-eastern parts of the island have been more frequently subjected to innovations owing to contacts with other Italian dialects.¹⁰⁴

Native language inscriptions from areas inhabited by Σικελοί and Σικανοί are usually grouped into three main sets: an oriental area around the Etna volcano (principal sites: Centuripe, Mendolito di Adrano and Civita di Paternò); a southern area around the Hyblean mountains (principal sites: Castiglione di Ragusa, Grammichele and Licodia Eubea); and a central area in the hinterland of Gela (principal sites: Montagna di Marzo, Terravecchia di Cuti and Morgantina).¹⁰⁵

Chronologically, inscriptions pertaining to the non-Greek languages of Sicily come to an end in the late fifth century BC. Native languages suddenly seem to disappear from the written record, almost simultaneously in all areas. The fact that this event occurred in all settlements, regardless of cultural or linguistic specificities, indicates that the beginning and end of writing in native languages was a unitary process affecting all indigenous communities.

As stated above, with regard to the writing system, no alphabet can be considered typical of native Sicilian communities. In other words, no alphabetic features distinguish the texts in indigenous languages from those in Greek. Unlike in southern Italy,

¹⁰² Albanese Procelli (2003b: 230). ¹⁰³ Cordano (2002: 122).

¹⁰⁴ Durante (1964–5: 419), Fanciullo (1984: 141).

¹⁰⁵ See Agostiniani (1992b: 130–1), Albanese Procelli (2003b: 220).

where Messapian and Oscan differentiated their own alphabets from their Greek models, indigenous communities in Sicily neither created any autonomous alphabet nor adapted the Greek one to their languages. The arrow-shaped *alpha*, usually called '*alpha Siculum*', also occurs in Greek inscriptions, so that it cannot strictly be regarded as an exclusive feature of a native writing system. On the other hand, the fact that the '*alpha Siculum*' is always used for native idioms suggests that to some extent it was perceived as a marker of a cultural identity by the indigenous population.¹⁰⁶ Nonetheless, the lack of an independent graphic culture endangered the vitality of the indigenous languages in written use and contributed to making them unserviceable.

The typology of texts in Sicilian native idioms is quite varied by comparison to coeval epigraphic material from Italy in other languages. The vast majority of these Sicilian records consists of private texts, inscriptions on vases or tomb stones and curse tablets, suggesting that indigenous languages were essentially used in private domains.

Very few official texts are known. For the most part, they are concentrated in the eastern part of Sicily, especially the area surrounding the Etna volcano. The most outstanding of these texts is an inscription from Mendolito di Adrano. Chiselled on a stone that was once part of an urban gateway,¹⁰⁷ this text is highly important for its linguistic as well as cultural content. Institutional terms used in the inscription, such as *τοῦτο* and *ακαρα*, indicate that the local community was politically organized. More questionable is the official status of some brick inscriptions from Mendolito¹⁰⁸ belonging to a public building:¹⁰⁹ it is uncertain whether the edifice was used for private worship or whether it served as a public monument. The fact that only the Etna area provides written evidence for political organization and urban structures suggests that it was an area of particular importance for indigenous communities.¹¹⁰ A likely example of a monumental funerary inscription is instead

¹⁰⁶ Agostiniani (1991: 28). ¹⁰⁷ Agostiniani (1992b: 146 no. 1).

¹⁰⁸ Agostiniani (1992b: 146 no. 2).

¹⁰⁹ For a reconstruction of the original context, see Cultraro (2004).

¹¹⁰ Albanese Procelli (2003b: 232).

found in a stele from Sciri whose shape and text layout are reminiscent of Palaeo-Sabellian epigraphy.¹¹¹

The stone inscription from Mendolito, the vase inscription (*askos*) from Centuripe,¹¹² the amphora inscription from Montagna di Marzo¹¹³ and the stele from Sciri¹¹⁴ are the most extensive surviving texts written in native Sicilian languages. It is these inscriptions that have enabled scholars to make the most important advances in the decipherment and classification of indigenous Sicilian languages.

Searching for features of the native languages 1: language contact with Greek

It is impossible to examine the evidence for indigenous languages without considering local inscriptions in Greek, given that Greek and non-Greek languages formed constitutive parts of the same linguistic communities. It is difficult, however, to define the distribution of the respective social uses of these languages in terms of bilingualism or diglossia. Several indigenous settlements have yielded both Greek and non-Greek texts (e.g. Terravecchia di Cuti, Adrano and Montagna di Marzo). Many Greek inscriptions found both in Greek colonies and in non-Greek settlements are clearly influenced by local languages. Conversely, most native inscriptions show strong interferences with Greek. Even the same text may present names with both Greek and non-Greek morphology (see below). On the other hand, in the case of native names without any syntactic context, such as Νενδᾶς (nominative) and Νε(ν)δᾶι (dative),¹¹⁵ we cannot be sure whether they are in Greek or in a non-Greek language.¹¹⁶

Primary evidence for interference between Greek and non-Greek idioms emerges from personal names, which are always adapted to the morpho-phonetic structures of the language. This is the case, for instance, with indigenous names marked by Greek morphology (e.g. Φλοπετιονος attested once in Gela,¹¹⁷ and

¹¹¹ Agostiniani (1992b: 148 no. 7).

¹¹² Agostiniani (1992b: 147 no. 5).

¹¹³ Agostiniani (1992b: 152 no. 18).

¹¹⁴ Agostiniani (1992b: 148 no. 7).

¹¹⁵ Agostiniani and Cordano (2002: 85).

¹¹⁶ Agostiniani (2000: 161).

¹¹⁷ *ISic.MG* II 74, Imperato (1994: 205).

Νενδας, which is more frequently attested).¹¹⁸ Conversely, it is also the case with Greek names displaying a non-Greek morphology (e.g. Εuryμακες and Πρατομακες in place of Εὐρύμαχος and Πρατόμαχος).¹¹⁹ Sometimes native personal names are alternatively marked by Greek and non-Greek morphology (e.g. Κυκυος and Κυκυιες, both from Terravecchia di Cuti, near Gela).¹²⁰

Names such as Προτομακες (< Πρατόμαχος) and Ευρυμακες (< Εὐρύμαχος) show that aspirate consonants were irrelevant to the native languages, as is further confirmed by καιρε,¹²¹ possibly a transposition of χαῖρε, used as a greeting in vase inscriptions. An analogous case of interference may be assumed for Ἑρακλῆς (attested not far from Gela), which is written without an initial aspirate,¹²² as well as for personal names such as Σκύτας in place of Σκύθης (in Gela),¹²³ and Πυτίκκας in place of Πυθίκκας (in Castiglione di Ragusa).¹²⁴ This native phonetic feature, common throughout the eastern and southern parts of the island, was passed on to local Greek dialects, as revealed by ancient accounts that the Σικελοί pronounced the words χύτρα and χιτών as κύτρα and κιτών respectively.¹²⁵ Conversely, an example of Greek influence on indigenous personal names is the variant Νεδαι of the personal name Νενδας,¹²⁶ which displays the typical Greek treatment *-nd-* > *-d-*.¹²⁷

Another formula imitating Greek expressions is πιβε, an imperative meaning ‘drink’.¹²⁸ Unlike καιρε, which is a straight borrowing from χαῖρε, πιβε would appear to be a translation of πίει. It is frequently featured in the ‘drinking formulae’ χαῖρε καὶ πίει εὖ and χαῖρε καὶ πίει με on wine vases as a wish for a good long drink.¹²⁹ Interestingly, the ‘Sicilian’ expression is not accompanied by καιρε (= χαῖρε), showing that the Greek formula was remodelled to suit indigenous culture. Moreover, inasmuch as it is an imperative, the expression reveals that either πίει was understood as an imperative

¹¹⁸ Agostiniani and Cordano (2002: 85). ¹¹⁹ Agostiniani (1991: 33).

¹²⁰ Respectively *IGDS* I 175 and 176. ¹²¹ Agostiniani (1992b: 148 no. 6).

¹²² *IGDS* I 162. ¹²³ *IGDS* I 148, Agostiniani (1991: 34).

¹²⁴ Cordano (2002: 52), Cassio (2002b: 124).

¹²⁵ For references, see Agostiniani (1988–9: 195).

¹²⁶ Agostiniani and Cordano (2002: 84). ¹²⁷ Schwyzler (1934: 233).

¹²⁸ Lejeune (1990a).

¹²⁹ Guarducci (1978: 491); for a rich collection of evidence, see Wachter (2004: 302).

(as it is by some modern interpreters)¹³⁰ or that πιβε is a translation of πίνε (which is much rarer in ‘drinking formulae’).

The deep influence of Greek in everyday life is evidenced by loanwords belonging to vase terminology such as ποτερομ < ποτήριον from Grammichele¹³¹ and αρυσταιναμ < ἄρυσταινα from Centuripe.¹³² Possibly another Greek loanword occurs on a vase from Centuripe: δυρομ, which may derive from δῶρον ‘gift’ with the *ō* > *u* change typical of Sabellian languages.

Another formula imitating Greek patterns is found on ‘ownership inscriptions’ indicating the owner of an object (usually a vase). The number of such texts displaying the verb εἰμί suggests that Greek was used by common people in everyday life, although considerable variants point to the blending of Greek and non-Greek features. In the formula ‘I belong to X’, the personal name accompanying εἰμί may exhibit three different syntactic constructions: (a) in the genitive (e.g. ΔΥΠΣΕΤΑΣ ἐμί);¹³³ (b) in the nominative (e.g. ΤΙΤΑ ἐμί);¹³⁴ (c) in the dative (e.g. Νενδα ἐμί Καριμαιοι).¹³⁵ Sometimes the morphology of a name (whether in the nominative or genitive) is not clearly recognizable, as is the case with Κυκυος ἐμί, from Terravecchia di Cuti,¹³⁶ as opposed to Κυκυιες,¹³⁷ which shows an indigenous inflection (it is probably a nominative).

Only the genitive construction is common in Greek (e.g. Πύρρου ἐμί). The use of the nominative (or an unmarked case) within corresponding formulae is instead paralleled in Etruscan and archaic Latin (e.g. *mi Mamarce*, *mi Kavidios*),¹³⁸ while the dative occurs in Latin,¹³⁹ Venetic,¹⁴⁰ and Elymian graffiti.¹⁴¹ Where the genitive construction is in competition with the dative one (as in Latin), a pragmatic distinction is found: the genitive has a more specific function than the largely multi-functional dative.¹⁴² Accordingly, the fact that the dative construction (a more distinctly ‘Sicilian’

¹³⁰ Wachter (2004: 309) instead suggests that the word is the second person of a future.

¹³¹ Agostiniani (1992b: 148 no. 9), Willi (2008: 346).

¹³² Agostiniani (1992b: 147 no. 5), Willi (2008: 344). ¹³³ IGDS I 172.

¹³⁴ IGDS I 171. ¹³⁵ Agostiniani (2000: 162), Agostiniani and Cordano (2002: 83).

¹³⁶ IGDS I 175. ¹³⁷ IGDS I 176.

¹³⁸ Colonna (1983: 53), Agostiniani (2006b: 129).

¹³⁹ More generally concerning the use and distribution of genitive and dative in classical Latin prose, see Nuti (2005).

¹⁴⁰ Agostiniani (1996). ¹⁴¹ Agostiniani (2006a: 686). ¹⁴² Nuti (2005: 171).

feature) is found both in Greek colonies (e.g. Νενδαι ἐμί Καριμοιοι in Gela)¹⁴³ and in indigenous settlements (Πεδοραι ἐμί in Castiglione di Ragusa)¹⁴⁴ reflects both language contacts and a colloquial style.

Further patterns of language blending are shown by curse tablets, which are generally closer to everyday speech. For instance, a text from the surroundings of Gela displays an impressive mixture of personal names:

IGDS I 176

Σίμη Πρατομακες Λεππίνας Πραξίας. Κυκυιες Αραδτες,
πυριν.πεσ/τίλλαμ, πε δαμ/τε πεσα ρε.

Here a group of merely indigenous names (Κυκυιες, Αραδτες) is to be distinguished from a group of Greek names in both Ionic and Doric (Σίμη, Λεππίνας, Πραξίας) and from a Greek name adapted to the indigenous language, Πρατομακες < Πρωτόμαχος. The final part of this text containing the curse formula probably belongs to a native language. The language used for magic practices is usually of a socially ‘low status’.¹⁴⁵ A further blending of personal names is evidenced by another curse tablet from Akragas, where the unit ρokes is repeated alongside three Greek personal names (Ἀρχέδαμος, Φίλιππος and Ἰππίας).¹⁴⁶ ρokes is reminiscent of *Rukes*, which is used as a first name in a native inscription from Mendolito.¹⁴⁷ Still, we do not know its function within the name system reflected by this text.¹⁴⁸

Searching for features of the native languages 2: connections with Italic

All modern researches have posited Italic connections for the language of the Σικελοί. These suggestions were originally formulated

¹⁴³ Agostiniani (2000: 162), Agostiniani and Cordano (2002: 83).

¹⁴⁴ Agostiniani and Cordano (2002: 78).

¹⁴⁵ Oscan–Latin and Greek–Latin parallels are mentioned by Mancini (1988).

¹⁴⁶ *IGDS II 77b*.

¹⁴⁷ Agostiniani (1992b: 146 no. 2), Willi (2008: 345 no. 3).

¹⁴⁸ Dubois (2008: 52) argues for ‘un élément classificateur, peut-être l’appartenance à une ethnie indigène’.

on the basis of the information provided by the ancient sources. Disagreements concern the data taken into account (glosses and/or inscriptions) and the languages examined (e.g. Latin, Oscan, Ligurian and ‘Ausonian’). Accordingly, various degrees of kinship with Latin and/or Oscan-Umbrian have frequently been posited.

Considerable advances in the knowledge of native Sicilian idioms have recently been prompted, on the one hand, by the discovery of important texts from different areas – such as the stone inscription from Mendolito (1965) and the amphora inscription from Montagna di Marzo (1978) – and, on the other, by the significant improvements made in the study of the most archaic stage of the Italic languages, particularly thanks to the ‘south Picenian’ corpus. Hence, a more detailed definition has now been drawn of the affinities between the indigenous languages of Sicily and Sabellian languages, particularly in their most archaic varieties.

The above conclusion is supported by much evidence in terms of phonetics, morphology, vocabulary and onomastics. It also largely agrees with the information transmitted by the ancient sources about the origins of the Σικελοί. Let us here briefly recall the most significant features of native Sicilian languages and their parallels in the Sabellian languages.

A distinctive feature of the Sabellian languages by contrast to Latin is the fricative bilabial sound /f/ resulting from **dh*, **bh* in internal syllables. Unlike in writing systems of the Italian peninsula, where special signs for this sound had been developed (such as <F> in Latin, <FH> in Venetic, <: > in south-Picenian and <8> in Etruscan), local alphabets in Sicily used the sign <β> drawn from the Greek. Examples of this use of the letter are τεβεγ corresponding to Umbrian *tefe*, Oscan *tifei* and Palaeo-Sabellian *tefeh*, *tefei* <**te-bhei*>; and αβεσσακεδ, which derives from **mbhisak*.¹⁴⁹ The use of <β> for /f/, as a consequence of the spirant pronunciation of <β> already attested in early Greek,¹⁵⁰ is also paralleled in Oscan written in Greek alphabet (e.g. Μεβιτηι = *Mefitei*) and in Elymian graffiti.¹⁵¹ As in Oscan (where the letter

¹⁴⁹ Prosdocimi (2004a: 1430).

¹⁵⁰ Evidence for this is the alternation in writing between β and φ: see Threatte (1980: 470).

¹⁵¹ Agostiniani (2006a: 684).

is occasionally used), in the alphabet of the Σικελοί the sign <β> was customarily applied to both the normal value /b/ and to the fricative sound /f/, in accordance with the multi-functional use of signs common to most alphabetic systems. In the Elymian alphabet, by contrast, the sign for /f/ was differentiated from the sign for /b/ – the former being <β> and the latter <ι>. ¹⁵²

Nevertheless, since the evolution of <β> in Greek and other languages could lead to the voiced fricative /w/, we cannot be absolutely sure that this sign indicates a voiced or unvoiced fricative sound (i.e. /f/ or /w/). It is generally assumed that the unvoiced fricative in Italic languages derived from a voiced one (i.e. *-bh- > *-b- > Lat. -b-; Sab. -f-): ¹⁵³ the ‘Sicilian’ evidence may show this intermediate stage. If this is the case, the native idioms of Sicily would have a prominent affinity with the archaic stage of the Italic languages. Seemingly inconsistent developments of aspirate consonants – as in λίτρα vs. Latin *libra* and Umbrian *uef(ra)*, or in local names such as Αἴτνη (= *Aetna*, name of the volcano) vs. Greek αἶθω – could be the result of contact, parallel to the loss of aspiration in Πρατομακες < Πρατόμαχος mentioned above.

In parallel to the fricative value of <β>, a spirant value, equivalent to /l/ or /h/, must be assigned in some cases to the grapheme <γ>. The spirantization of <γ>, which mostly occurs in an intervocalic position, is usually traced back in spoken Greek to at least the fifth century BC, based on epigraphic evidence ¹⁵⁴ and literary sources (e.g. ὀλίος for ὀλίγος in Attic drama). ¹⁵⁵

Diachronically, <γ> represents sounds of different origin, as a comparison between τεβεγ and γεπεδ reveals. In γεπεδ, a perfect form from the root *hēp- corresponding to the Oscan perfect *hipid*, <γ> represents the outcome of the Indo-European voiced aspirate *gh- > /h/, while in τεβεγ, the dative form of the second person pronoun (equivalent to Latin *tibi*, Umbrian *tefe*, Oscan *tifei* and Palaeo-Italic *tefei*), ¹⁵⁶ <γ> is used in place of <ι>, as part of the diphthong /ei/. Significantly, in Palaeo-Sabellian inscriptions from central Italy *tefei* alternates with *tefeh*, ¹⁵⁷ signalling

¹⁵² Agostiniani (2006a: 684). ¹⁵³ See Stuart-Smith (2004).

¹⁵⁴ Threatte (1980: 440). ¹⁵⁵ Cassio (1981: 90). ¹⁵⁶ Untermann (2000: 752).

¹⁵⁷ In south Picenian inscriptions Te7 and Ch2 : cf. Untermann (2000: 752).

the vowel weakening of the diphthong /ei/.¹⁵⁸ The variant *tefeh* would seem to be an appropriate term of comparison for Sicilian $\tau\epsilon\beta\epsilon\gamma$ with regard to the treatment of the final diphthong, as well as its graphic rendering by means of a spirant consonant. A further parallel is provided by $\Phi\epsilon\pi\epsilon\gamma\alpha\iota\epsilon\varsigma$, which may be compared to the Oscan doublets *verehia/vereiia*, where <h> appears to be a graphic alternative for <i>.

To sum up, the spirant sounds of signs < β > and < γ > in indigenous writings are derived from their values in spoken Greek. Interestingly, < γ > parallels the functions of <h> attested in alphabets of the Sabellian languages: on the one hand, as the outcome of Indo-European *gh- ($\gamma\epsilon\pi\epsilon\delta \sim \text{hipid}$); on the other hand, in place of <i> as the second member of a diphthong ($\Phi\epsilon\pi\epsilon\gamma\alpha\iota\epsilon\varsigma \sim \text{verehial/vereiia}$; $\tau\epsilon\beta\epsilon\gamma \sim \text{tefeíltefeh}$).

With regard to phenomena pertaining to the vocalism of the Sicilian native languages two elements which are typical of Sabellian languages occur in inscriptions from the Σικελοί area, namely the change $\bar{a} > -o$ in the nominative of $\bar{a}$ -stems and neuter o -stems (as evidenced by $\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron < \text{tout}\bar{a}$ in the Mendolito stone inscription) and the shift $\bar{o} > u$, which (if $\delta\upsilon\rho\omicron\mu$ derives from $\delta\bar{\omega}\rho\omicron\nu$) is parallel to Oscan *dunum < dōnom*.¹⁵⁹

Vowel insertion (anaptyxis) in consonant clusters of the *muta cum liquida* type is also consistent with Italic languages. However, the scanty evidence suggests that its occurrence is sporadic and does not correspond to any systematic pattern, as shown by the alternation between $\text{Κύπ}\tau\alpha$, $\text{Κύπ}\tau\upsilon\alpha$ and $\text{Κύπ}\alpha\tau\alpha$,¹⁶⁰ all forms which can hardly be separated from the Umbrian-Sabine lexical item *kupro-* ‘good’ and from the goddess name *Cupra*.¹⁶¹ The epigraphically attested variant $\text{Κύπ}\alpha\tau\alpha$ is confirmed by a gloss from Hesychius that probably refers to the indigenous name of the Arethousa spring near Syracuse ($\text{Κύπ}\alpha\tau\alpha\cdot \eta \epsilon\nu \Sigma\iota\kappa\epsilon\lambda\acute{\iota}\alpha \kappa\rho\acute{\eta}\nu\eta \text{ Ἀρέθουσα}$).¹⁶² The type featuring vowel insertion, i.e. $\text{Κύπ}\alpha\tau\alpha$

¹⁵⁸ Adiego Lajara (1992: 69). ¹⁵⁹ Meiser (1986: 49, 266).

¹⁶⁰ Respectively, *IGDS* I 175, 177; *IGDS* II 103. Agostiniani (2000: 166) argues in favour of separating $\text{Κύπ}\tau\upsilon\alpha$ from $\text{Κύπ}\alpha\tau\alpha$.

¹⁶¹ Untermann (2000: 405), Agostiniani (1992b: 141). ¹⁶² Durante (1965).

(in parallel to epigraphic ακαρα < ακρα¹⁶³ and δάνκολον < δάνκλον of the glosses¹⁶⁴) is consistent with Oscan patterns, whereas Κύπυρα fits Latin patterns (cf. *Alcumena* < Ἀλκμήνη or *drachuma* < δραχμή).¹⁶⁵ A further example of velar vowel insertion parallel to Κύπυρα may be the above-quoted gloss Ἡρύκαλος, if it results from *Ἡράκυλ(λ)ος.

Alternating vowel insertions are also attested in Etruscan (e.g. *Cupana*, *Cupuna*, *Cupna*) and in Palaeo-Sabellian inscriptions (e.g. *kuprí* ~ *qupírīh*)¹⁶⁶ from the same period. The Sicilian evidence thus appears to be consistent with the overall picture of the treatments of consonant clusters in the ancient languages of Central Italy. Further variations of the vowel in the *-elo-lo-* suffix are reflected – even within the same text – by personal names: e.g. Ρότυλος and Ματύλαιος vs Πυκέλειος and Τίτελος, parallel to Sabellian evidence, as well as Oscan *Pakul* < *Pak-elo-lo-* vs *famel* < *fam-elo-lo-*.

A morpho-phonological feature typical of the Sabellian languages is the development *-yo-* > *-i(i)s/ies* in native personal names (e.g. Κυκνιες and Χαζσυιες). Even more interestingly, in binomial nomenclatures the first and the second name are respectively distinguished by the morphemes *-es* : *-ies*, a practice that finds an exact parallel in the analogous distinction drawn between *-is* and *-iis* (or *-ies*) in the Sabellian languages.¹⁶⁷

As for the verbal system, the perfect γεπεδ ‘he had’, from the root **h₁ep-*, a suppletive of the present root **gheHb-*, represents a striking point of convergence with Oscan and Umbrian paradigms (the Umbrian present *habia* and the Oscan perfect *hipid*). This verbal form (from the root **h₁ep-*) is assumed to have been remodelled after the paradigm *haf-* < **gheHb-*.¹⁶⁸ If this was the case, the remodelling of the suppletive verb **h₁ep-* for the paradigm of ‘to have’ constitutes an important innovation shared by Oscan. Furthermore, the *-yo-*enlargement of the root

¹⁶³ See the stone inscription from Mendolito (Agostiniani (1992b: 146 no. 1); Willi (2008: 343)).

¹⁶⁴ Conway, Whatmough and Johnson (1933: II 450–2).

¹⁶⁵ Leumann (1977: 102–4). ¹⁶⁶ *ST* Sp AP 2; Sp AQ 2.

¹⁶⁷ Agostiniani (2006b: 118). ¹⁶⁸ See *LIV* 237, n. 6; Untermann (2000: 316).

**deh*₃- ‘to give’ (> **deh*₃-*yo*-), evidenced by the present δοῖν ‘he gives’, is shared by Faliscan (*douiad*), Umbrian (*purtuvitu*) and Latin (*duit* as variant of *dare*).¹⁶⁹ In the Sabellian languages, the -*yo*-enlarged present **deh*₃-*yo*- is paralleled by **steh*₂-, the root of Latin *stare*. Hence, Oscan *stahit* and Palaeo-Italic *praistait* and *adstaiuh* arise from **steh*₂-*yo*-.¹⁷⁰

Another prominent element suggesting a wider convergence among the various languages of the Mediterranean area is the -*k*-perfect, which is common to Greek (e.g. λέλυκα, τετίμηκα), Etruscan (e.g. *amce*, *turuce*) and Oscan (*kellaked*, *liokakeit*). Sicilian examples (αβεσακεδ ‘he claimed’ (?) and πιποκεδ ‘he drank’) occur in the vase inscription from Montagna di Marzo.¹⁷¹ Interestingly, the syllabic reduplication common to both the perfect πιποκεδ and the present πιβε is paralleled by the paradigm of the corresponding Latin verb *bibo-bibi*.¹⁷²

A significant point of convergence with the morphology of the Sabellian languages might be the supposed postpositional use of a locative particle in the stele from Sciri¹⁷³ (πρααρειεν, understood as *praarei+en* like Oscan *húrtiín* < **hortei+en*).

As for vocabulary, two lexical items attested in the stone inscription from Mendolito, τουτο- and ακαρα-, are particularly relevant, as they correspond to crucial terms for the political structures of Sabellian communities.¹⁷⁴ They are reminiscent of the pair *touto*- and *okri*- which is repeatedly mentioned in the bronze Tables from Iguvium (e.g. *Tutaper Iguvina* / *Ocriper Iguvina*). Another term in the Mendolito inscription referring to a public institution might be φερεγαιες, if it is connected with the Oscan word *vere(h)ia*. Further lexical convergences with Latin and Sabellian vocabulary are found in the imperatives ΦΙΔΕ, connected with the verb ‘to see’ (e.g. *videtas* in a Palaeo-Sabellian stone inscription),¹⁷⁵ and πιβε ‘drink’, both occurring in the above-mentioned formula.

Striking convergences with Sabellian languages are also evidenced by proper names in both Greek and non-Greek texts. Apart from purely Oscan names to be attributed to more recent

¹⁶⁹ Untermann (2000: 614), Bakkum (2009: 162). ¹⁷⁰ Untermann (2000: 698).

¹⁷¹ Agostiniani (1992b: 152 no. 18); Willi (2008: 347 no. 1).

¹⁷² Prosdocimi (2004a: 1425–7).

¹⁷³ Agostiniani (1992b: 148 no. 7).

¹⁷⁴ See Prosdocimi (1978b).

¹⁷⁵ Agostiniani (2006b: 115).

immigrants – such as those recorded in the Entella decrees¹⁷⁶ – or to various immigration flows from central and southern Italy – as reflected by the Great Curse tablet from Selinous¹⁷⁷ – a series of names attested in both Greek and non-Greek inscriptions from fifth-century Sicily are strongly connected with the oldest layer of Italic names. In particular, some native personal names coincide with names of mythic or religious characters mentioned in antiquarian tales. So for instance, *Ιταλο* and *Μαρς*, attested in vase inscriptions from Montagna di Marzo,¹⁷⁸ correspond to the names of the mythic ancestors of the Italic populations, the *Ιταλοί* and *Αὔσωνες* respectively.¹⁷⁹ *Κύπρᾱ*, *Κύπτυρᾱ* and *Κύπαρᾱ*, possibly variants of the name *Kupra-* (either the name of a goddess or a female personal name), recalls the goddess name *Cupra* (attested in Umbrian inscriptions as well as in literary sources) and the Etruscan personal name *Cupure*,¹⁸⁰ both of which draw upon the ‘Sabine’ adjective *Cupro-* ‘good’.¹⁸¹ Finally, the female name *Ακκᾱ*¹⁸² recalls the first name of *Acca Larentia* in Roman mythology, as well as personal and family names from the Paelignian area (such as *Acca*, *Acaes* and *Accaeus*).¹⁸³ This evidence points to the archaic nature of native personal names in Sicily, acquired through pre-documentary contacts with the Sabellian-speaking world.

ΔΟΥΚΕΤΙΟΣ, the name of the famous leader of the ‘rebellion’ of the *Σικελιοί*, corresponds to an archaic word formation paralleled in the Sabellian languages. This is a ‘speaking name’, meaning ‘leader’; it derives from the root **deuk-*, that of the Latin verb *dūco*.¹⁸⁴ This name, which is to be analysed as **Douk-et-yo*, is consistent with the archaic Sabellian name system: *Doukioi* < **Douk-yo-* (from the same root but with a different morphology) is attested in an archaic inscription from the Sabine region.¹⁸⁵ The Oscan personal name *ΛωΦκτιης* and the Latin god name *Lucetius* (< **Louk-et-yo-*)

¹⁷⁶ See Lejeune (1982). ¹⁷⁷ Masson (1972), Dubois (1989: 52).

¹⁷⁸ Agostiniani (1992b: 151 no. 14; 152 no. 17).

¹⁷⁹ For the legendary centaur named *Mares*, see Lepore (1977). *Μαρς*, however, may also possibly result from *Mar-yo-* or *Maros* (as assumed by Agostiniani (1992b: 140)) or from an (Ionic) rendering of *Maras*, a name frequently attested in Oscan.

¹⁸⁰ As claimed by Agostiniani (1992b: 141). ¹⁸¹ Untermann (2000: 405).

¹⁸² *IGDS* I 166, 175c. ¹⁸³ E.g. *STP* g 32, 36.

¹⁸⁴ Conway, Whatmough and Johnson (1933: II 452). Agostiniani (1988–9: 192).

¹⁸⁵ *ST Um* 3.

display the same morphology with a different root. In other words, the Oscan and Latin personal names *Louk-yo-* (> Lat. *Lucius*, Oscan *Lúvkis*) and *Louk-et-yo-* (> Oscan *ΛωΦκτιηις*, Latin *Lucetius*) perfectly match **Douk-yo-* (Sabine *Doukioi*) and **Douk-et-yo-* (> *Δουκέτιος* in Sicily), further suggesting the Sicilian name has Italic roots.

The most striking link between Sicilian native languages and the Italian peninsula consists in the use of binomial nomenclature, a distinguishing feature of the naming system in ancient Italy. This is primarily a cultural system, involving social structures that account for the person's name (as in the case of the *nomen* used in Etruscan and Roman society). Its linguistic counterpart is the morphological distinction between the first and second name forms mentioned above: *-es* : *-ies* which is paralleled by *-is* : *iis* (or *-ies*) in the Sabellian languages. The ending *-es*, which also marks individual names, replaces *-os* in Greek names: thus we have *Ευρυμακες* and *Πρατομακες* for *Εὐρύμαχος* and *Πρατόμαχος*. The binomial nomenclature is also found for native names in Greek texts, e.g. *Νενδαι Καριμαιοι*.¹⁸⁶

The binomial nomenclature (following the Italic system) coexisted with the single-name system (following Greek custom). The distribution of both naming systems would not appear to depend on the typology of the texts and languages involved. Examples of this combined usage are *Φλοπετιονος* vs *Νενδαι Καριμαιοι* in Greek and *Ευρυμακες* ~ *Ρυκες Χαζσυιες* in native languages. The rather complex picture that emerges from this evidence raises both diachronic and synchronic questions. Diachronically, one may wonder when the binomial nomenclature was adopted by the indigenous inhabitants of Sicily, given that this naming system is generally considered an innovation that became common among the main peoples of the peninsula in the early first millennium BC.¹⁸⁷ Accordingly, if native communities in Sicily shared this innovation, it cannot have reached Sicily before this date. According to this perspective, the binomial system might have partially been abandoned at a later date under the influence of the Greek

¹⁸⁶ Agostiniani (2000: 162), Agostiniani and Cordano (2002: 83).

¹⁸⁷ Rix (1972), Colonna (1977).

system, which was perceived to be more prestigious. Conversely, occurrences of binomial nomenclature might be regarded as resulting from later Italic influence. Synchronically, the real impact of both naming systems upon indigenous Sicilian societies remains unclear in the light of the present epigraphic evidence.

The fact remains that the convergences between Sicilian native languages and the Sabellian group are more numerous and structurally consistent than the divergences. As examples of the latter, we may mention the fact that while Sicilian languages preserve the consonant cluster *-nd-*, in Sabellian this is turned into *-nn-*, as illustrated by the personal name Νενδαι (note that in the variant Νεδαι, also showing /d/, the omission of <v> is due to Greek influence; see above). Another point of divergence concerns the use of the demonstrative pronoun *iu* based on the **i-/eyo-* stem, common to Latin (*is, ea, id*) and Oscan (*izic, úúk*). While in Latin and Oscan this pronoun has an anaphoric function, in the inscriptions from Adrano and Mendolito it is used with a deictic function.

Onomastics as evidence for ethnic mixture and language contacts

Proper names provide the most striking evidence for the complexity of the linguistic situation in pre-Roman Sicily, showing the frequent lack of overlap between linguistic practices and cultural origins. A large number of foreign personal names in Greek inscriptions testifies to the strong presence of non-Greeks in Greek cities from the very beginning of the written documentation (around 550 BC). An excellent example is represented by Selinous, which was founded by colonists from Megara Hyblaea around 650–630 BC. The considerable number of non-Greek names in its Great Curse tablet,¹⁸⁸ dating back to the early fifth century, shows that a few generations after its foundation the city became populated by foreigners who adopted the Greek language. Likewise, non-Greek names adapted to Greek morphology are found

¹⁸⁸ *IGDSI* 38. For an onomastic investigation of this text, see Masson (1972) and Chapter 5 in this volume.

in vase inscriptions from the acropolis of Gela¹⁸⁹ and from the hinterland of Camarina.¹⁹⁰ Conversely, several Greek names occur in native communities in the interior of the island.

Far more impressive evidence is provided by personal names derived from ethnic terms describing either native peoples – such as Σικανά¹⁹¹ – or inhabitants of the Italian peninsula – such as Λατῖνος,¹⁹² Τυρρανά,¹⁹³ and Λευκανά¹⁹⁴ (the ethnic names of the Latins, Etruscans and Lucanians respectively). Significantly, three of these ethnic names, which occur in late sixth- to early fifth-century texts from Selinous, are used as female names, apparently for women deeply integrated within the social fabric of the newly founded Greek city. Moreover, the epigraphic evidence for Λευκανά is found on a tomb stone from the late sixth century,¹⁹⁵ and hence precedes the first mention of the ethnic name Λευκανοί in literary sources, which dates to the fourth century.¹⁹⁶ Interestingly, the name of the city Rhegion accompanying the personal name Λατῖνος (Λατίνῳ ἡμὶ τῷ Ρηγίνῳ) bears witness to personal mobility between both sides of the Straits.

The personal name Ἰταλο (accompanied by the frequent formula ἀρακακάμι), which is featured in an indigenous inscription from Montagna di Marzo, closely recalls the ethnonym Ἰταλοί, which is clearly connected to Ἰταλία. This, as mentioned above, up until the late fifth century was only used to describe the Italian territory just beyond the Straits. If we consider the fact that Thucydides and Antiochus of Syracuse both believed Ἰταλοί to derive from the name of a king, Ἰταλός, and that they considered Italy to be the original homeland of the Σικελοί,¹⁹⁷ the presence of a person called Ἰταλο in a site filled with important texts assigned to the Σικελοί is certainly significant. In other words, this personal name points to awareness on the part of the local indigenous community of its ties to the territory beyond the Straits, the name of which was simultaneously acquiring increasing importance.

¹⁸⁹ Lejeune (1980).

¹⁹⁰ *IGDS* I 127, Anello (2002a: 74), Agostiniani and Cordano (2002: 79).

¹⁹¹ *IGDS* I 29. ¹⁹² *IGDS* I 24. ¹⁹³ *IGDS* I 37. ¹⁹⁴ *IGDS* II 20.

¹⁹⁵ *IGDS* II 20. ¹⁹⁶ Lepore (1975: 47), Musti (2005: 274).

¹⁹⁷ Antioch. Syr. *FGH* 555 F 5–6.

The river name Ὀπικανός mentioned in an inscription from Halaesa, dating back to the second century BC,¹⁹⁸ is evidently derived from Ὀπικοί, the name given by the Greeks to the people inhabiting the southern Tyrrhenian coast of the Italian Peninsula (who mostly spoke Sabellian languages).¹⁹⁹ The name Ὀπικανός probably identified a group of immigrants settled in the area who chose to use the name given to them by Greeks. The fact that this name is no longer attested in Greek sources after the third century BC would suggest that the river name was created in earlier times through the addition of the Italic suffix *-āno-*, which is attested elsewhere in Sicilian proper names (see below). Conversely, the term Σιλερᾶῖοι, which appears in a coin legend referring to a site in the interior occupied by mercenary soldiers,²⁰⁰ illustrates the preservation of the original name of a small community with the suffix *-yo-* (or enlarged *-ayo-*, typical of Greek ethnic names).²⁰¹

The circulation of foreign ethnic names in Sicily is also evidenced by the coin legends Καμπανοί (from the late fifth century onwards) and Τυρρηνοί (from the mid-fourth century onwards), which may be seen as referring to mercenary soldiers who formed independent communities. These coins reveal that Greek was used as the official language for the political administration of these communities, probably owing to the fact that Greek was the most common means of communication in multilingual contexts. Significantly, the name Καμπανοί appeared in Sicily before it did in Italy and Campania. One may wonder whether it was the establishment of this community in Sicily that inspired the name Καμπανοί, which – according to Schulze²⁰² – derives from Capua, the most important city of the time.

Another clue for language contact provided by proper names concerns morphology. As stated above, two suffixes, *-āno-* and *-(e)-lo-*, which are very common in word formation in the Italic languages (that is, in Latin and the Sabellian languages), also rather frequently occur in proper names in Sicily, starting from

¹⁹⁸ *IGDS* I 196. ¹⁹⁹ Wikén (1937), Barbera and Russo (2004).

²⁰⁰ Tagliamonte (1994: 143). ²⁰¹ Risch (1957: 68). ²⁰² Schulze (1895b: 287).

the very names – Σικανοί and Σικελοί. As in the Italic languages, *-āno-* appears to have been specifically used for local and ethnic names (such as the aforementioned Ὀπικανός, Μορριανός and Λογγάνη), whereas *-(e)-lo-* is quite common in personal names. Significantly, Greek inscriptions from Sicily display many first names containing the *-(e)-lo-* suffix and which clearly belong to the Italic stock, although they are not directly attested in Sabelian or Latin documentation – for instance, Τίτελος,²⁰³ Εἴελος,²⁰⁴ Πάπτελος²⁰⁵ and Ἀπτελος.²⁰⁶ This suffix seems to overlap with the Greek (diminutive) suffix *-υλ(λ)ο-*, so that *-(e)-lo-* may occur in Greek names, such as Μύσκελος (a derivative from Μύσκος and Μύσκων)²⁰⁷ and inversely *-υλο-* in non-Greek names such as Ρότυλος²⁰⁸ (to be compared with Etruscan *Rutel-na*, Latin *Rutulus?*).²⁰⁹

Another Italic suffix used for deriving adjectives from local names is *-īno-*, which is considered a morphological borrowing common throughout western Greek colonies, as it is found both in Magna Graecia (e.g. Ταραντῖνος, Πηγῖνος) and Sicily (e.g. Ἀκραγαντῖνος, Ἐντελλῖνος). However, this suffix seems to be more widespread in Greek Sicily than in Magna Graecia, especially in other fields of onomastics, such as personal names and god names, as well as in the appellative lexicon. Significantly, this suffix has the same function as in Latin morphology: it expresses affiliation (e.g. *libertus-libertinus*, *soror-sobrinus*, *rex-regina*, *Agrippa-Agrippina*, *Augustus-Augustinus*).²¹⁰ Personal names formed through *-īno-* are quite frequent in Greek inscriptions: for instance, in the Great Curse tablet from Selinous we find Πυρρῖνος and Λυκῖνος.²¹¹ Interestingly, Πυρρῖνος also occurs in the so-called ‘warrior inscription’ from an indigenous settlement near Castiglione di Ragusa.²¹² The productiveness of this suffix becomes evident if one compares onomastic stems and

²⁰³ Salomies (1987: 93).

²⁰⁴ Lejeune (1982: 794), Salomies (2008: 22).

²⁰⁵ Salomies (2008: 31).

²⁰⁶ Poccetti (2008b: 143).

²⁰⁷ IGDS I 71, 126.

²⁰⁸ IGDS I 38.

²⁰⁹ On the comparison of Ρότυλος with Etruscan *Rutel-na* and Latin *Rutulus* see C. De Simone (2006: 458).

²¹⁰ Leumann (1977: 326).

²¹¹ Masson (1972), Dubois (1989: 51).

²¹² Cordano (2002). For a more detailed onomastic commentary, see Cassio (2002b).

their derivatives attested in Sicily, e.g. Πύρρος : Πυρρῖνος,²¹³ Λύκος : Λυκῖνος,²¹⁴ Φίλων / Φίλιος : Φιλῖνος.²¹⁵ This suffix was also attached to Roman names, as shown by the use of Φάβι[ο]ς Πι[κτω]ρῖνος instead of *Fabius Pictor* on the *pinakes* of the library of Tauromenion.²¹⁶

This suffix was also used to form god names, as shown by the mysterious word Ἐλαιελῖνος attested in a votive inscription from Morgantina (ἱερός Ἐλαιελίνου),²¹⁷ which apparently derives from the Greek term for ‘olive’ (ἐλαια). A parallel for Ἐλαιελῖνος, again illustrating the diffusion of *-īno-* for word formation in Sicilian Greek, is provided by the title of a comedy by Epicharmus: Λόγος καὶ Λογίνα.²¹⁸ Clearly here Λογίνα is contextually related to Λόγος, the meaning of the title being ‘Mr. and Mrs. Logos’. The new formation ‘sounded comic because it was the (invented) feminine form of a masculine word that had no feminine counterpart’.²¹⁹ This odd lexical creation was suggested to Epicharmus by the synchronic diffusion of the suffix *-īno-*, which had clearly made its way into local spoken Greek long before his time.

More generally, personal names reflected the mixed composition of Sicilian society. This fact is revealed by various pieces of evidence and different types of texts. So for instance, a ‘love inscription’ from Montagna di Marzo²²⁰ mentions a man (Γελοῖος) who is in love with a woman with a non-Greek name (Ἀκα). Conversely, a married couple whose funerary inscription survives from Camarina²²¹ presents a Greek female name (Χορώι) alongside a non-Greek male one (Ἐλος or Κάτελος).²²² Significantly, the language of both texts is Greek. The composition of personal names in Sicily remained heterogeneous at least up to the Roman period, as evidenced by the names *Heius*, *Suettius*, *Pipa*, *Phimes* and *Grosphus* mentioned in Cicero’s *Verrinae*.²²³

²¹³ IGDS I 38, IGDS II 44, 68.

²¹⁴ IGDS I 9, IGDS II 42. ²¹⁵ IGDS II 53, 57, 82.

²¹⁶ Manganaro (1974: 392); Battistoni (2006: 175–8). ²¹⁷ IGDS I 190.

²¹⁸ PCG I 52–3. ²¹⁹ Cassio (2002a: 69). ²²⁰ IGDS I 166.

²²¹ IGDS I 127. ²²² For these alternatives, see the commentary in IGDS I 127.

²²³ See Masson (1981).

Aspects of multilingualism and language contact 1: the Straits area as a crossroads of languages and cultures

As a crossroads of languages, the Straits area holds a special position within the linguistic framework of ancient Sicily. Language contacts concern both different Greek dialects and native languages, as is suggested by ancient accounts about the origins of local place names. Thus the name of Zancle, related to a ‘Sicel’ word for ‘sickle’, would appear to have been adopted as a place name by the city’s Euboean and Chalcidian founders in its variants ζάνκλον, δάνκλον and δάνκολον. As previously observed, this word, which is listed among other glosses on the Σικελοί,²²⁴ has been compared to Latin *daculum/falx*. From our perspective, it is more important to note the presence of a sickle-like semicircle on the early coinage of this city, suggesting that the sickle was considered a symbol of the colony. Whatever the real significance attached to this symbol, the fact that it was understood on the basis of a non-Greek word for ‘sickle’ is indicative of the local knowledge of native languages.²²⁵

Hellanicus of Lesbos records a story about the etymology of the name Ἰταλία, a name that – according to Antiochus of Syracuse – was only used to describe the tip of the peninsula up until the late fifth century. According to this tale, when Hercules crossed the Straits in search of a ‘calf’ belonging to Geryon’s herd, local natives answered his queries by calling the animal in their own language (πατρίῳ φωνῇ).²²⁶ Hercules then named this territory after the indigenous word for ‘calf’ (οὔτιουλος), which is cognate to Latin *vitulus* and Umbrian *vitlu-*.

Hellanicus’ tale has several linguistic implications. Firstly, the Straits separating Sicily from Italy does not appear to have been

²²⁴ Conway, Whatmough and Johnson (1933: II 450).

²²⁵ More detailed analysis in Poccetti (2005: 324).

²²⁶ D.H. *Antiquitates Romanae* 1.35 = FGH 4 F 111: ‘He wandered the whole length of the coast and then swimming across the intervening strait of the sea, came into Sicily. Hercules, following the calf, inquired of the inhabitants wherever he came if anyone had seen it anywhere and when the people of the island, who understood but little Greek and used their own speech when indicating animals, called it *vitulus* (the name by which it is still known), he in memory of the calf called all the country it had wandered *Vitulia*.’

a real linguistic border: there were affinities between the native languages of both sides of the Straits. Secondly, the word said to have been pronounced by the natives in Sicily is common to the main group of Italic languages (namely, Latin and Sabellian). This implies a certain acquaintance between Hellenicus' sources and the local traditions. Finally, a degree of mutual intelligibility would seem to have existed between the native speakers and the Greek hero, who addressed them in Greek.

The extent of language contacts and culture-blending in the Straits area is best illustrated by the life of the Greek poet Stesichorus. The poet was in contact with two sites on the opposite sides of the Straits, Himera and Matauros, as well as with indigenous populations of the area, as is shown by the name of his brother (Μάμερκος or Μαμέρτιος), which is of Oscan origin. Even more interestingly, Stesichorus' dialect – like to that of Ibycus, another poet from the Straits area – features a mixture of Ionic and Doric, probably reflecting the actual language spoken in his homeland.²²⁷

Aspects of multilingualism and language contact 2: the impact of mercenary soldiers on the societies and languages of Sicily

Admittedly, a great number of mercenary soldiers flowed into Sicily from various countries and had a prominent impact on the social and economic life of the island between 415 BC (when first mention of them is made) and c.250 BC (the beginning of the Roman rule). The importance of these soldiers is due to the fact that they often occupied Greek as well as non-Greek towns (e.g. Catania, Entella and Nakone), where they established independent and for the most part short-lived communities. The last of these mercenary waves was represented by Agathocles' soldiers, who after occupying Messana took the name of Mamertini in the early third century.²²⁸ This change of the name and official language of the Greek town under the rule of the Mamertini is absolutely exceptional, in that elsewhere the settlements occupied by mercenary

²²⁷ Cassio (1999a) and more extensively Willi (2008: 89).

²²⁸ See Clackson, Chapter 4.

soldiers preserved their original identity and mercenaries themselves officially adopted Greek customs and language (see below).

The identity of the immigrants, especially in the case of mercenary soldiers, is rather complicated and changes over time. Greek historians provide various pieces of information, depending on what period and context they are discussing. The earliest date – recorded by Diodorus of Sicily – for *Καμπανοί* as Campanian mercenaries, serving the Athenians first and then the Carthaginians, are the years 414–409 BC.²²⁹ A few years later, coin legends with the name *Καμπανοί* started circulating in western cities such as Entella and Nakone.²³⁰ Further coinage bearing the same legend or attributable to Campanians is attested at a later date in the central and eastern parts of the island. While not supported by any other source, archaeological evidence points to an earlier date for the first flows of mercenary soldiers from Campania into Sicily, namely the early fifth century BC.²³¹

Samnites are mentioned among mercenary soldiers in later years – roughly in Agathocles' time. Different functions are also attributed to Samnites and Campani, probably corresponding to differences in the social level of these immigrants. The former are described as having been employed in the infantry; the latter, as skilled cavalrymen.²³² This difference might help explain the fact that, unlike in the case of the Campani, we have no coin inscriptions from Sicily bearing the name of the Samnites.

A particular case is that of the last wave of mercenary soldiers to have swept into Sicily, the Mamertini. Occupying Messana, they used Oscan as their official language and identify themselves with an Oscan name on coins and inscriptions. These soldiers created a new ethnic name for themselves, derived from the Sabellian name of the god *Mamers*, corresponding to Mars.²³³ This suggests that the Mamertini developed a strong ethnic identity and formed a politically independent community, in spite of the fact that they hailed from various regions of southern Italy (Samnium, Campania, Lucania and the *ager Bruttius*). The tale

²²⁹ D.S. 13.44.1–4.

²³⁰ For dating these coins see Tagliamonte (1994: 138) and Tagliamonte (2002: 506).

²³¹ See de la Genière (2001), Tagliamonte (2002: 513), Poccetti (2004).

²³² So Tagliamonte (1994: 158–60). ²³³ Fest. 117 L.

of their origin, as reported by the poet Alfius,²³⁴ emphasizes the fact that to reach Sicily the mercenary soldiers not only followed sea routes from Campanian harbours,²³⁵ but also travelled down the peninsula by land, stopping along the way and making contacts with local inhabitants. Commandants of Oscan origin are mentioned not only as serving in various local armies, but also for their commercial entrepreneurship – as in the case of Nypsios from Naples²³⁶ – and for their artistic and literary abilities – as in the case of Mamercus, who become the tyrant of Catania.²³⁷ Both Nypsios' and Mamercus' names are of Oscan origin (attested respectively as *Niumsis* and *Mamereks*).

The contrast between the tale of the Mamertini, led by the aristocratic chief of a community from Samnium (*Stennius Mettius*, *princeps eius gentis*), and that of the characters of Mamercus and Nypsios brings out different facets of mercenary immigration in Sicily. On the one hand, we have a community driven by famine (*cum gravis incidisset pestilentia*), which emigrated following a decision taken by its popular assembly (*convocata civium suorum contione*);²³⁸ on the other, we have individuals with a culturally or economically high profile, reminiscent of the 'capitani di ventura' of the Italian Renaissance. In addition, we cannot rule out the possibility that forms of 'deviation', such as banditry and piracy, were widespread among mercenary soldiers in Sicily,²³⁹ as exemplified by the ambiguous figure of the Etruscan Postumius, who was put to death by Timoleon in 339 BC.²⁴⁰

These contrasting aspects of mercenary immigration had various impacts on local Sicilian societies. One would expect individual commandants or entrepreneurs to have generally moved without their families. The immigration of an entire community, by contrast, implied – at least to some extent – the displacement of families. The immigration of women into Greek cities since the earliest times is evidenced by ethnic names, used as feminine

²³⁴ Alfius HRF, 372,1 Peter² = Fest. 150, 16–35 L. ²³⁵ Lepore (1985: 113).

²³⁶ D.S. 14.18.1, 14.19.1. Cf. Lepore (1985: 113), Colonna (1980–1: 169), Tagliamonte (1994: 141).

²³⁷ Plut. *Tim.* 13.2, 31.1–3. See also Poccetti (1989: 120), Tagliamonte (1994: 146), Sironen (1995: 188).

²³⁸ Alfius HRF, 372,1 Peter² = Fest. 150, 16 L. ²³⁹ So Tagliamonte (1994: 191).

²⁴⁰ D.S. 14.83.1. See Colonna (1980–1: 179).

personal names, such as the aforementioned Λευκανά, Τυρρανά and Σικανά in Selinous.

To sum up, the frequent flows of mercenary soldiers that took place for at least two centuries (from the fifth to the third century BC) constitute one of the most prominent events in Sicilian history, one that had remarkable repercussions in terms of the social, cultural and linguistic make-up of the island in the period under consideration. These waves of immigration created strong links not only with the Italian Peninsula, but also with other Mediterranean regions. Even if it is Italian soldiers that regularly accounted for most of the mercenary immigration in Sicily, people from various other western Mediterranean countries are also mentioned in the sources, including individuals of Celtic, Hispanian, Libyan and Sardinian origin.²⁴¹ Yet unlike in the case of the South Italian peoples, there is no evidence that these groups ever integrated within Sicilian societies or formed any independent communities. This may result from the higher level of Hellenization enjoyed by South Italians, which enabled them to become more familiar with Greek society. A good example of this is the aforementioned Mamercus, the tyrant of Catania, who was acquainted with Greek literature and devoted himself to the writing of Greek tragedy and epigrams.²⁴² Foreign soldiers, however, continued to use their native languages in informal or family contexts, as illustrated by the curse tablet accompanying the fifth-century burial of a Campanian soldier in the surroundings of Gela.²⁴³

²⁴¹ See for instance D.S. 11.1.5, 13.110.5–6, 20.11.1 and 20.64.2.

²⁴² Plut. *Tim.* 31.1. Cf. Tagliamonte (1994: 238 A69), Sironen (1995: 188).

²⁴³ See de la Genière (2001), Poccetti (2004).

CHAPTER 2

THE ELYMIAN LANGUAGE

Simona Marchesini

Introduction

The identification of the geographical, cultural and archaeological borders of the Elymian people in ancient western Sicily may be defined, if at all, by contrast to that of other local, ancient Sicilian peoples, that is the Sicans and the Sicels from inland areas, and non-indigenous peoples, such as the Greeks and the Phoenicians, on the coast.¹ As Albanese Procelli (2003b: 22) points out, while the spread of the Elymian language has been more or less traced, until now every attempt to identify an Elymian territory on the basis of material culture has failed.²

The name *Elymians* is used to identify the autochthonous people inhabiting west Sicily in the archaic period. The main settlements known to us (Map 2) are Segesta and Eryx, whose names are also attested in local fourth-century coin legends, and Entella, which is located east of the left branch of the river Belice ('Belice sinistro').³

According to Thucydides, the Greek colonists (whose principal aim was to trade with the autochthonous people of Sicily) considered the Elymians barbarians, but of a special standing: since they descended from the noble Trojans, it was legitimate to trade with them.⁴ A different view on the provenance of the Elymians is provided by Hellanicus, who states that they came from Italy.⁵ These two views are also often taken into account when attempting to define the nature of the Elymian language.

¹ See Anello (2003: 38).

² For a general overview of these settlements, see the BTCG, s.v. and *Elimi ed area elima*.

³ See Nenci (1993) and Gargini, Michelini and Vaggioli (2006).

⁴ Th. 6.2. See De Vido (1997) and Sammartano (2003).

⁵ This is more or less the frame offered by the literary sources well re-collected and discussed by De Vido (1997). See also Camassa (2003).

The Elymian language: *status quaestionis*

Much has been written about the Elymian language in the last twenty years,⁶ though the attempt to define this fragmentary language dates back at least to the nineteenth century. All scholars agree that Elymian is a language of the Indo-European family. More problematic is the individuation of the language group to which Elymian belongs, also owing to the heterogeneous nature of the documentation, which is drawn from literary sources, coin legends and short inscriptions. Kinch (1888), for example, on the almost exclusive evidence of the coin legends, proposed an affinity with the Anatolian language group. Schmoll (1958, 1961, 1962, 1968), who also took the epigraphic data into account, discovered affinities with Thracian and Phrygian, while Durante (1961, 1980) and Ambrosini (1968, 1970a, 1970b) tend to privilege Anatolian and Balkan links. Affinities with Greek are noted – albeit with some doubts – by Arena (1959), while other scholars look towards the Latin-Italic group: Alessio (1970) and Lejeune (1972–3, 1990b) interpret Elymian as a southern variety of the Italic languages, endowed with an ‘Asiatic’ stratum; they are followed by Parlangèli (1967) and later Biondi (1997). A different perspective is offered by Georgiev (1962), who proposed to look for some affinity with Hittite, which he considered related to Etruscan.

A more prudent approach has recently been adopted by Agostiniani (1977, 1988–9, 1992a, 2006a), who admits a strong influence of the Greek culture, but does not hazard to suggest a deeper relationship with any other Indo-European language. An overview was recently offered by Willi (2008: 336–41), who, in a book about the specificity of the Sicilian ‘colonial’ culture from the eighth to the fifth century BC, presents a synthetic sketch of Elymian epigraphy.

In the case of the Elymian language we are dealing with two kinds of evidence, the epigraphical and the linguistic; and though today we know more about its alphabet, no new significant inscription has appeared over the last fifteen years that could allow us

⁶ See for example specific contributions in Nenci (1989), *Area elima I*, Gulletta (1999), *Area elima IV* and *Area elima V*.

Table 2.1. *The distribution of epigraphic texts in Elymian territory.*

Place	Inscriptions	Marks/Numerals
Segesta	125	176
Terravecchia di Cuti	3	
Montelepre	2	
Entella	1	1
Monte Castellazzo di Poggioreale	1	
Monte Iato		1

to change something in the complex framework of this very fragmentary language.

The epigraphic evidence

All the inscriptions from the Elymian area have been studied by the likes of Michel Lejeune and Riccardo Ambrosini, but it was Luciano Agostiniani who approached them in a more systematic way. In 1977 he published the entire Elymian epigraphic complex with good photographs, apographs and bibliographical references for each inscription. Most of the Elymian texts were inscribed on the foot of vases after firing (mostly Attic black pottery or in some sporadic cases local imitation pottery). We have in many cases no detailed information about the context in which the pottery was found.⁷ The distribution of the epigraphic texts in the Elymian territory is shown in Table 2.1 (see also Map 2).

It is in some cases argued that the pottery comes from cult contexts, owing to the archaeological areas of provenance, or presumed provenance, as in the cult depot of Grotta Vanella, on the north-east mountainside of Monte Barbaro (whose plateau was occupied by Segesta itself). Since the first excavations in the 1960s, the landslide here that has come down from the higher part of the hill has furnished us with the greater part of the inscriptions. Since the texts were inscribed on the vase after firing, we have only a

⁷ Agostiniani (1977: 3–6).



Figure 2.1 Example of figure on Elymian vase inscriptions. From Agostiniani (1977: Fig. 4).



Figure 2.2 Example of non-alphabetic sign on Elymian vase inscriptions. From Agostiniani (1977: Fig. 38).

terminus post quem as a dating element. The Attic vases on which the inscriptions are made generally date to between the end of the sixth and the first part of the fifth century BC. The chronology can be further specified by Attic cup type C (from the Athenian agora), used in many cases to support epigraphic evidence. An older version of the kylix, with a tall foot, dates from the second half of the sixth century to 480 BC, while a recent type with a thinner foot dates to 470–460 BC. In general, the date of the inscriptions can be estimated to be up to one generation (i.e. twenty-five years) later than the vases on which they are made.

The typology of the inscriptions involves five different classes (see Figs. 2.1–2.5):



Figure 2.3 Example of mark on Elymian vase inscriptions. From Agostiniani (1977: Fig. 82).

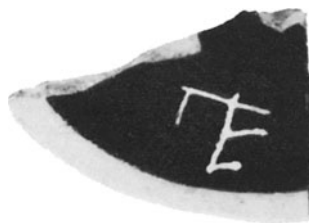


Figure 2.4 Example of numerals in Elymian vase inscriptions. From Agostiniani (1977: Fig. 84).



Figure 2.5 Example of a longer text on Elymian vase inscriptions. From Agostiniani (1977: Fig. 323b).

- (i) figures (such as birds)
- (ii) non-alphabetic signs (e.g. sand-glass, double-axe, five-pointed star etc.)
- (iii) marks (also with ligatures)
- (iv) numerals
- (v) longer texts: i.e. inscriptions.

The alphabet

In general, the writing system adopted by a community can be used as one of several possible parameters for its ethnic definition.⁸ This is true also for the Elymian alphabet, where we can trace a diachronic development of graphemes; at the same time, we can analyse what connections exist between the alphabet and its Greek model (or models) and the degree of self-development exhibited by the former. Through a re-analysis of all the inscriptions,⁹ it can be observed that the letter types used to write longer texts differ from those used to write shorter texts (consisting of three or fewer signs) or ‘marks’ (see Figs. 2.6, 2.7, 2.8).¹⁰ This difference in the use of letter types can be ascribed to different functions and consequently to the fact that two different ‘sociotypes’ might have been writing these two series: single letters or groups of two/three letters, also bound together in ligatures, could have been written both by non-Elymian writers (perhaps Greeks)¹¹ and by people (both Elymians and Greeks) who possessed a limited alphabetic competence.¹² This hypothesis can be proven both on the basis of general, typological considerations and by considering the case study provided by the cultural context of ancient Italy at the beginning of literacy (in the seventh century BC).¹³ We know from ethnographic and linguistic field studies¹⁴ that in pre-industrial societies there are

⁸ On the concept of ethnicity and the parameters considered for its definition, see Marchesini (2007: chapter 5).

⁹ For an outline of this project see Marchesini (2004a).

¹⁰ The term ‘SIGLE’ (‘marks’) for texts with three or fewer letters was already chosen by Agostiniani (1977: 9). Incomplete texts of three letters were considered as ‘ISCRIZIONI’ (‘real texts’). See the description of the project and of the software applied in Marchesini (2004a).

¹¹ Thus Agostiniani (1990: 350). ¹² Marchesini (2003).

¹³ Overview about writing/computation in Marchesini (2003).

¹⁴ Crevatin (1995), Crump (1996), Marchesini (2004b: 3–4).

Greek	α	β	γ	δ	ε	Ϝ	ζ	Η	θ	ι	κ	λ	μ	ν	ξ	ο	π	ρ	σ	τ	υ	φ	χ	ψ	ω	
Phonol. Value	a	b?	g	d	e	v	z	h	?	i	k	l	m	n	?	o	p	q	r	s	t	u	ph?	?	?	ō
Type 1	Α	Α	Β		Δ	Ε	Λ	Η		Ι	Κ	Λ	Μ	Ν		Ο	Ρ		Ρ	Σ		Υ		Χ		
Type 2	Α			Δ	Ε	Ζ	Ζ	Η	Θ		Κ		Μ	Ν		Ο	Ρ		Ρ	Σ	Τ	Υ		Χ		
Type 3	Α		Γ		Ε									Ν			Π			Σ	Τ					
Type 4	Α													Ν	Ν				Ρ		Τ					
Type 5								Θ						Ν	Ν						Τ					
Type 6																					Τ					
Type 7	Α																									

Types with only 1-2 occurrences

Frequent types

Figure 2.6 Elymian alphabet used in longer texts.

Greek letters	α	β	γ	δ	ε	Ϝ	ζ	Η	θ	ι	κ	λ	μ	ν	ξ	ο	π	ρ	σ	τ	υ	φ	χ	ψ	ω	
Phonol. Value	a	b?	g	d	e	v	z	h	?	i	k	l	m	n	?	o	p	q	r	s	t	u	ph?	?	?	ō
Type 1	Α		Γ	Δ	Ε			Η		Ι	Κ	Λ	Μ	Ν	Ξ	Ο	Π			Σ		Υ		Χ	Ψ	
Type 2	Α	Β			Ε			Η	Θ		Κ	Λ	Μ	Ν		Ξ	Ο	Π		Ρ	Σ	Τ	Υ	Φ	Χ	Ψ
Type 3	Α				Ε			Η	Θ		Κ	Λ		Ν			Π						Φ			
Type 4	Α				Ε			Η						Ν	Ν		Π		Ρ							
Type 5					Ε									Ν	Ν						Τ					
Type 6																		Ρ								
Type 7	Α																				Τ					

Numerals Π Λ

Figure 2.7 Elymian alphabet used in shorter texts.

Greek letters	α	β	γ	δ	ε	Ϝ	ζ	Η	θ	ι	κ	λ	μ	ν	ξ	ο	π	ϙ	ρ	σ	τ	υ	φ	χ	ψ	ω
Phonol. Value	a	b?	g	d	e	v	z	h	?	i	k	l	m	n	?	o	p	q	r	s	t	u	ph?	?	?	ō
Type 1	A	B	Γ				I				K			N		O			P	Σ		V				Ω
Type 2		B	Γ		E													R				Y				
Type 3	A		Κ		E		I							N												
Type 4			C				Z				K															
Type 5			L																		T					
Type 6	Λ													N												
Type 7	A																		P		T					

Figure 2.8 Elymian alphabet used in coin legends.

populations who are able to compute using numbers or tokens, but are unable to write longer texts or – vice versa – populations who can write longer texts but cannot compute. We also know from the cognitive sciences that the ‘calculating tool’ develops in the brain through a different pathway from the ‘writing tool’ and that it must be activated and maintained for use, otherwise it will be lost.¹⁵ I argued in a recent contribution,¹⁶ dealing with the introduction of writing in ancient Italy, that the same scenario is plausible in the Etruscan context, whereby the first alphabetic signs on clay objects (the spindle whorls and other small clay objects in Veii) of the Orientalizing period might have been computation elements or marks rather than alphabetic texts. Such marks are detectors of the arrival of an alphabet in a given region, but they do not automatically imply that people’s ability to write meant ability to write a full text.

According to results achieved by the processing of the Elymian letters with a computing tool (the Seriation Tool of The Bonn Archaeological Software Package: see Fig. 2.9),¹⁷ we can distinguish two main phases in Elymian epigraphic history: an older phase, presumably originating in the second half of the sixth century BC, and a more recent one dating from the first part of the fifth century BC. No transition phase – as is usually the case in epigraphic contexts – can be observed.¹⁸ An event of relevance must have occurred between the first and the second phase – which could perhaps be set in the first quarter of the fifth century – that led Elymian writers to make some modifications to their alphabetic types. Yet determining exactly what that event may be is a more complex task. The tendency in the second phase is to normalize the letters, which are now squarer and more inspired by the Greek letters.

Some types of letters (S3, P2, A4, T2, N4, O1, E1, N2, A7, V2) belong exclusively to the first phase, while certain others (P3, T5, P1, N5, A3, V1, A2) were used only in the second. Some letters are phase-indifferent, i.e. they exist both in the first and second phase (N1, T4, A1, E3, S1, O2, E3). Some types of the same letter (such as

¹⁵ Crump (1996: 34).

¹⁶ Marchesini (2004b).

¹⁷ Marchesini (2004a).

¹⁸ Marchesini (2004a), Marchesini (2009: 175–83).

A4 and A7, or P3 and P1, or A3 and A2) were used simultaneously while others were in diachronic concurrence (P2 and P3/P1, T2 and T5, A4/A7 and A3/A2, N4/2 and N5, V2 and V1). Such occurrences are explained by the fact that the Elymian alphabet is not a mere copy of the Greek alphabet from Selinous: rather it is an autochthonous type. By the word ‘autochthonous’ I mean that the alphabet has been modified by its users with operations of deletion, addition and modification of the kind we can usually observe in the borrowing of a cultural tool.¹⁹ An ethnic group’s degree of intervention in a borrowed tool can be seen as a parameter of that tool’s autonomy from the model.

That the alphabet could be a criterion in distinguishing the local inscriptions from the Greek ones is argued by Agostiniani (1990: 352):

Va però tenuto presente che a Segesta e nel resto dell’area elima non esiste un criterio esterno, basato sulle caratteristiche dell’alfabeto per distinguere le iscrizioni in lingua locale da quelle in Greco, come invece esiste a Spina o a Xanthos o ad Ampurias: Segesta non ha elaborato un alfabeto locale peculiare, e le iscrizioni appaiono redatte in un puro e semplice alfabeto Greco arcaico.

In order to outline how far the Selinous model may be from Elymian epigraphy – Selinous being the Greek town on the coast which exercised the strongest influence on Elymian culture²⁰ – we can look at some particular cases, and compare the two series of letter types in Figs. 2.6 and 2.10 respectively.²¹

If we compare the *alpha*, we have seven different types in the Elymian alphabet, while in Selinous we have only six. The letter *gamma* has only one angular type in Elymian, while the Selinous alphabet shows two different types. The differences are evident and concern three areas:

¹⁹ Marchesini (2004a and 2009: chapter 3).

²⁰ For letter types in the Selinous inscriptions, see the photos and apographs in *ISic.MG I*. It must be noted that the alphabet sets provided by Guarducci (1967) and Jeffery (1990), which I have used to draw up Fig. 2.10, are not exhaustive for the present purpose.

²¹ See Agostiniani (1977: 108): ‘nel caso particolare dell’alfabeto adottato nelle iscrizioni elime, non sembrano esistere, rispetto agli alfabeti di tipo greco, né modificazioni a livello formale (peculiarità di ductus), né introduzione di segni nuovi, né eliminazione di segni’.

PART I: NON-CLASSICAL LANGUAGES

		𐤀	𐤁	𐤂	𐤃	𐤄	𐤅	𐤆	𐤇	𐤈	𐤉	𐤊	𐤋	𐤌	𐤍	𐤎	𐤏	𐤐	𐤑	𐤒	𐤓	𐤔	𐤕	𐤖	𐤗	𐤘	𐤙	𐤚	𐤛	𐤜	𐤝	𐤞	𐤟	𐤠	𐤡	𐤢	𐤣	𐤤	𐤥	𐤦	𐤧	𐤨	𐤩	𐤪	𐤫	𐤬	𐤭	𐤮	𐤯	𐤰	𐤱	𐤲	𐤳	𐤴	𐤵	𐤶	𐤷	𐤸	𐤹	𐤺	𐤻	𐤼	𐤽	𐤾	𐤿	𐥀	𐥁	𐥂	𐥃	𐥄	𐥅	𐥆	𐥇	𐥈	𐥉	𐥊	𐥋	𐥌	𐥍	𐥎	𐥏	𐥐	𐥑	𐥒	𐥓	𐥔	𐥕	𐥖	𐥗	𐥘	𐥙	𐥚	𐥛	𐥜	𐥝	𐥞	𐥟	𐥠	𐥡	𐥢	𐥣	𐥤	𐥥	𐥦	𐥧	𐥨	𐥩	𐥪	𐥫	𐥬	𐥭	𐥮	𐥯	𐥰	𐥱	𐥲	𐥳	𐥴	𐥵	𐥶	𐥷	𐥸	𐥹	𐥺	𐥻	𐥼	𐥽	𐥾	𐥿	𐦀	𐦁	𐦂	𐦃	𐦄	𐦅	𐦆	𐦇	𐦈	𐦉	𐦊	𐦋	𐦌	𐦍	𐦎	𐦏	𐦐	𐦑	𐦒	𐦓	𐦔	𐦕	𐦖	𐦗	𐦘	𐦙	𐦚	𐦛	𐦜	𐦝	𐦞	𐦟	𐦠	𐦡	𐦢	𐦣	𐦤	𐦥	𐦦	𐦧	𐦨	𐦩	𐦪	𐦫	𐦬	𐦽	𐦾	𐦿	𐧀	𐧁	𐧂	𐧃	𐧄	𐧅	𐧆	𐧇	𐧈	𐧉	𐧊	𐧋	𐧌	𐧍	𐧎	𐧏	𐧐	𐧑	𐧒	𐧓	𐧔	𐧕	𐧖	𐧗	𐧘	𐧙	𐧚	𐧛	𐧜	𐧝	𐧞	𐧟	𐧠	𐧡	𐧢	𐧣	𐧤	𐧥	𐧦	𐧧	𐧨	𐧩	𐧪	𐧫	𐧬	𐧭	𐧮	𐧯	𐧰	𐧱	𐧲	𐧳	𐧴	𐧵	𐧶	𐧷	𐧸	𐧹	𐧺	𐧻	𐧼	𐧽	𐧾	𐧿	𐨀	𐨁	𐨂	𐨃	𐨄	𐨅	𐨆	𐨇	𐨈	𐨉	𐨊	𐨋	𐨌	𐨍	𐨎	𐨏	𐨐	𐨑	𐨒	𐨓	𐨔	𐨕	𐨖	𐨗	𐨘	𐨙	𐨚	𐨛	𐨜	𐨝	𐨞	𐨟	𐨠	𐨡	𐨢	𐨣	𐨤	𐨥	𐨦	𐨧	𐨨	𐨩	𐨪	𐨫	𐨬	𐨭	𐨮	𐨯	𐨰	𐨱	𐨲	𐨳	𐨴	𐨵	𐨶	𐨷	𐨸	𐨹	𐨺	𐨻	𐨼	𐨽	𐨾	𐨿	𐩀	𐩁	𐩂	𐩃	𐩄	𐩅	𐩆	𐩇	𐩈	𐩉	𐩊	𐩋	𐩌	𐩍	𐩎	𐩏	𐩐	𐩑	𐩒	𐩓	𐩔	𐩕	𐩖	𐩗	𐩘	𐩙	𐩚	𐩛	𐩜	𐩝	𐩞	𐩟	𐩠	𐩡	𐩢	𐩣	𐩤	𐩥	𐩦	𐩧	𐩨	𐩩	𐩪	𐩫	𐩬	𐩭	𐩮	𐩯	𐩰	𐩱	𐩲	𐩳	𐩴	𐩵	𐩶	𐩷	𐩸	𐩹	𐩺	𐩻	𐩼	𐩽	𐩾	𐩿	𐪀	𐪁	𐪂	𐪃	𐪄	𐪅	𐪆	𐪇	𐪈	𐪉	𐪊	𐪋	𐪌	𐪍	𐪎	𐪏	𐪐	𐪑	𐪒	𐪓	𐪔	𐪕	𐪖	𐪗	𐪘	𐪙	𐪚	𐪛	𐪜	𐪝	𐪞	𐪟	𐪠	𐪡	𐪢	𐪣	𐪤	𐪥	𐪦	𐪧	𐪨	𐪩	𐪪	𐪫	𐪬	𐪭	𐪮	𐪯	𐪰	𐪱	𐪲	𐪳	𐪴	𐪵	𐪶	𐪷	𐪸	𐪹	𐪺	𐪻	𐪼	𐪽	𐪾	𐪿	𐫀	𐫁	𐫂	𐫃	𐫄	𐫅	𐫆	𐫇	𐫈	𐫉	𐫊	𐫋	𐫌	𐫍	𐫎	𐫏	𐫐	𐫑	𐫒	𐫓	𐫔	𐫕	𐫖	𐫗	𐫘	𐫙	𐫚	𐫛	𐫜	𐫝	𐫞	𐫟	𐫠	𐫡	𐫢	𐫣	𐫤	𐫥	𐫦	𐫧	𐫨	𐫩	𐫪	𐫫	𐫬	𐫭	𐫮	𐫯	𐫰	𐫱	𐫲	𐫳	𐫴	𐫵	𐫶	𐫷	𐫸	𐫹	𐫺	𐫻	𐫼	𐫽	𐫾	𐫿	𐬀	𐬁	𐬂	𐬃	𐬄	𐬅	𐬆	𐬇	𐬈	𐬉	𐬊	𐬋	𐬌	𐬍	𐬎	𐬏	𐬐	𐬑	𐬒	𐬓	𐬔	𐬕	𐬖	𐬗	𐬘	𐬙	𐬚	𐬛	𐬜	𐬝	𐬞	𐬟	𐬠	𐬡	𐬢	𐬣	𐬤	𐬥	𐬦	𐬧	𐬨	𐬩	𐬪	𐬫	𐬬	𐬭	𐬮	𐬯	𐬰	𐬱	𐬲	𐬳	𐬴	𐬵	𐬶	𐬷	𐬸	𐬹	𐬺	𐬻	𐬼	𐬽	𐬾	𐬿	𐭀	𐭁	𐭂	𐭃	𐭄	𐭅	𐭆	𐭇	𐭈	𐭉	𐭊	𐭋	𐭌	𐭍	𐭎	𐭏	𐭐	𐭑	𐭒	𐭓	𐭔	𐭕	𐭖	𐭗	𐭘	𐭙	𐭚	𐭛	𐭜	𐭝	𐭞	𐭟	𐭠	𐭡	𐭢	𐭣	𐭤	𐭥	𐭦	𐭧	𐭨	𐭩	𐭪	𐭫	𐭬	𐭭	𐭮	𐭯	𐭰	𐭱	𐭲	𐭳	𐭴	𐭵	𐭶	𐭷	𐭸	𐭹	𐭺	𐭻	𐭼	𐭽	𐭾	𐭿	𐮀	𐮁	𐮂	𐮃	𐮄	𐮅	𐮆	𐮇	𐮈	𐮉	𐮊	𐮋	𐮌	𐮍	𐮎	𐮏	𐮐	𐮑	𐮒	𐮓	𐮔	𐮕	𐮖	𐮗	𐮘	𐮙	𐮚	𐮛	𐮜	𐮝	𐮞	𐮟	𐮠	𐮡	𐮢	𐮣	𐮤	𐮥	𐮦	𐮧	𐮨	𐮩	𐮪	𐮫	𐮬	𐮭	𐮮	𐮯	𐮰	𐮱	𐮲	𐮳	𐮴	𐮵	𐮶	𐮷	𐮸	𐮹	𐮺	𐮻	𐮼	𐮽	𐮾	𐮿	𐯀	𐯁	𐯂	𐯃	𐯄	𐯅	𐯆	𐯇	𐯈	𐯉	𐯊	𐯋	𐯌	𐯍	𐯎	𐯏	𐯐	𐯑	𐯒	𐯓	𐯔	𐯕	𐯖	𐯗	𐯘	𐯙	𐯚	𐯛	𐯜	𐯝	𐯞	𐯟	𐯠	𐯡	𐯢	𐯣	𐯤	𐯥	𐯦	𐯧	𐯨	𐯩	𐯪	𐯫	𐯬	𐯭	𐯮	𐯯	𐯰	𐯱	𐯲	𐯳	𐯴	𐯵	𐯶	𐯷	𐯸	𐯹	𐯺	𐯻	𐯼	𐯽	𐯾	𐯿	𐰀	𐰁	𐰂	𐰃	𐰄	𐰅	𐰆	𐰇	𐰈	𐰉	𐰊	𐰋	𐰌	𐰍	𐰎	𐰏	𐰐	𐰑	𐰒	𐰓	𐰔	𐰕	𐰖	𐰗	𐰘	𐰙	𐰚	𐰛	𐰜	𐰝	𐰞	𐰟	𐰠	𐰡	𐰢	𐰣	𐰤	𐰥	𐰦	𐰧	𐰨	𐰩	𐰪	𐰫	𐰬	𐰭	𐰮	𐰯	𐰰	𐰱	𐰲	𐰳	𐰴	𐰵	𐰶	𐰷	𐰸	𐰹	𐰺	𐰻	𐰼	𐰽	𐰾	𐰿	𐱀	𐱁	𐱂	𐱃	𐱄	𐱅	𐱆	𐱇	𐱈	𐱉	𐱊	𐱋	𐱌	𐱍	𐱎	𐱏	𐱐	𐱑	𐱒	𐱓	𐱔	𐱕	𐱖	𐱗	𐱘	𐱙	𐱚	𐱛	𐱜	𐱝	𐱞	𐱟	𐱠	𐱡	𐱢	𐱣	𐱤	𐱥	𐱦	𐱧	𐱨	𐱩	𐱪	𐱫	𐱬	𐱭	𐱮	𐱯	𐱰	𐱱	𐱲	𐱳	𐱴	𐱵	𐱶	𐱷	𐱸	𐱹	𐱺	𐱻	𐱼	𐱽	𐱾	𐱿	𐲀	𐲁	𐲂	𐲃	𐲄	𐲅	𐲆	𐲇	𐲈	𐲉	𐲊	𐲋	𐲌	𐲍	𐲎	𐲏	𐲐	𐲑	𐲒	𐲓	𐲔	𐲕	𐲖	𐲗	𐲘	𐲙	𐲚	𐲛	𐲜	𐲝	𐲞	𐲟	𐲠	𐲡	𐲢	𐲣	𐲤	𐲥	𐲦	𐲧	𐲨	𐲩	𐲪	𐲫	𐲬	𐲭	𐲮	𐲯	𐲰	𐲱	𐲲	𐲳	𐲴	𐲵	𐲶	𐲷	𐲸	𐲹	𐲺	𐲻	𐲼	𐲽	𐲾	𐲿	𐳀	𐳁	𐳂	𐳃	𐳄	𐳅	𐳆	𐳇	𐳈	𐳉	𐳊	𐳋	𐳌	𐳍	𐳎	𐳏	𐳐	𐳑	𐳒	𐳓	𐳔	𐳕	𐳖	𐳗	𐳘	𐳙	𐳚	𐳛	𐳜	𐳝	𐳞	𐳟	𐳠	𐳡	𐳢	𐳣	𐳤	𐳥	𐳦	𐳧	𐳨	𐳩	𐳪	𐳫	𐳬	𐳭	𐳮	𐳯	𐳰	𐳱	𐳲	𐳳	𐳴	𐳵	𐳶	𐳷	𐳸	𐳹	𐳺	𐳻	𐳼	𐳽	𐳾	𐳿	𐴀	𐴁	𐴂	𐴃	𐴄	𐴅	𐴆	𐴇	𐴈	𐴉	𐴊	𐴋	𐴌	𐴍	𐴎	𐴏	𐴐	𐴑	𐴒	𐴓	𐴔	𐴕	𐴖	𐴗	𐴘	𐴙	𐴚	𐴛	𐴜	𐴝	𐴞	𐴟	𐴠	𐴡	𐴢	𐴣	𐴤	𐴥	𐴦	𐴧	𐴨	𐴩	𐴪	𐴫	𐴬	𐴭	𐴮	𐴯	𐴰	𐴱	𐴲	𐴳	𐴴	𐴵	𐴶	𐴷	𐴸	𐴹	𐴺	𐴻	𐴼	𐴽	𐴾	𐴿	𐵀	𐵁	𐵂	𐵃	𐵄	𐵅	𐵆	𐵇	𐵈	𐵉	𐵊	𐵋	𐵌	𐵍	𐵎	𐵏	𐵐	𐵑	𐵒	𐵓	𐵔	𐵕	𐵖	𐵗	𐵘	𐵙	𐵚	𐵛	𐵜	𐵝	𐵞	𐵟	𐵠	𐵡	𐵢	𐵣	𐵤	𐵥	𐵦	𐵧	𐵨	𐵩	𐵪	𐵫	𐵬	𐵭	𐵮	𐵯	𐵰	𐵱	𐵲	𐵳	𐵴	𐵵	𐵶	𐵷	𐵸	𐵹	𐵺	𐵻	𐵼	𐵽	𐵾	𐵿	𐶀	𐶁	𐶂	𐶃	𐶄	𐶅	𐶆	𐶇	𐶈	𐶉	𐶊	𐶋	𐶌	𐶍	𐶎	𐶏	𐶐	𐶑	𐶒	𐶓	𐶔	𐶕	𐶖	𐶗	𐶘	𐶙	𐶚	𐶛	𐶜	𐶝	𐶞	𐶟	𐶠	𐶡	𐶢	𐶣	𐶤	𐶥	𐶦	𐶧	𐶨	𐶩	𐶪	𐶫	𐶬	𐶭	𐶮	𐶯	𐶰	𐶱	𐶲	𐶳	𐶴	𐶵	𐶶	𐶷	𐶸	𐶹	𐶺	𐶻	𐶼	𐶽	𐶾	𐶿	𐷀	𐷁	𐷂	𐷃	𐷄	𐷅	𐷆	𐷇	𐷈	𐷉	𐷊	𐷋	𐷌	𐷍	𐷎	𐷏	𐷐	𐷑	𐷒	𐷓	𐷔	𐷕	𐷖	𐷗	𐷘	𐷙	𐷚	𐷛	𐷜	𐷝	𐷞	𐷟	𐷠	𐷡	𐷢	𐷣	𐷤	𐷥	𐷦	𐷧	𐷨	𐷩	𐷪	𐷫	𐷬	𐷭	𐷮	𐷯	𐷰	𐷱	𐷲	𐷳	𐷴	𐷵	𐷶	𐷷	𐷸	𐷹	𐷺	𐷻	𐷼	𐷽	𐷾	𐷿	𐸀	𐸁	𐸂	𐸃	𐸄	𐸅	𐸆	𐸇	𐸈	𐸉	𐸊	𐸋	𐸌	𐸍	𐸎	𐸏	𐸐	𐸑	𐸒	𐸓	𐸔	𐸕	𐸖	𐸗	𐸘	𐸙	𐸚	𐸛	𐸜	𐸝	𐸞	𐸟	𐸠	𐸡	𐸢	𐸣	𐸤	𐸥	𐸦	𐸧	𐸨	𐸩	𐸪	𐸫	𐸬	𐸭	𐸮	𐸯	𐸰	𐸱	𐸲	𐸳	𐸴	𐸵	𐸶	𐸷	𐸸	𐸹	𐸺	𐸻	𐸼	𐸽	𐸾	𐸿	𐹀	𐹁	𐹂	𐹃	𐹄	𐹅	𐹆	𐹇	𐹈	𐹉	𐹊	𐹋	𐹌	𐹍	𐹎	𐹏	𐹐	𐹑	𐹒	𐹓	𐹔	𐹕	𐹖	𐹗	𐹘	𐹙	𐹚	𐹛	𐹜	𐹝	𐹞	𐹟	𐹠	𐹡	𐹢	𐹣
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THE ELYMIAN LANGUAGE

	$\begin{matrix} \zeta & \Gamma & \Delta & \tau & \nu & \omicron & \xi & \alpha & \beta & \eta & \theta & \alpha & \xi & \zeta & \epsilon & \eta & \theta & \rho & \nu & \alpha & \zeta & \alpha \\ \text{S} & \text{P} & \text{A} & \text{T} & \text{N} & \text{O} & \text{E} & \text{N} & \text{A} & \text{V} & \text{N} & \text{T} & \text{A} & \text{E} & \text{S} & \text{O} & \text{E} & \text{P} & \text{T} & \text{P} & \text{N} & \text{A} & \text{V} & \text{A} \\ 3 & 2 & 4 & 2 & 4 & 1 & 1 & 2 & 7 & 2 & 1 & 4 & 1 & 2 & 1 & 2 & 3 & 3 & 5 & 1 & 5 & 3 & 1 & 2 \end{matrix}$																							
FASE II	MLE114b											+	+	+	+									MLE114b
	MLE43												+		+									MLE43
	MLE75																							MLE75
	MLE138												+	+					+					MLE138
	MLE20												+						+					MLE20
	MLE110a												+	+	+									MLE110a
	MLE123																				+			MLE123
	MLE42	+																			+			MLE42
	MLE66											+	+	+										MLE66
	MLE134				+								+	+										MLE134
	MLE12												+			+	+							MLE12
	MLE111												+	+	+	+								MLE111
	MLE83												+	+	+									MLE83
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	MLE128											+	+	+	+									MLE128
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	MLE92												+	+		+	+	+						MLE92
	MLE132												+	+		+								MLE132
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	MLE76												+	+	+				+					MLE76
	MLE39												+	+										MLE39
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	MLE2												+			+	+	+		+				MLE2
	MLE69															+	+	+						MLE69
	MLE81												+			+				+				MLE81
	MLE119												+								+	+		MLE119
	MLE9																+							MLE9
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$\begin{matrix} \zeta & \Gamma & \Delta & \tau & \nu & \omicron & \xi & \alpha & \beta & \eta & \theta & \alpha & \xi & \zeta & \epsilon & \eta & \theta & \rho & \nu & \alpha & \zeta & \alpha \\ \text{S} & \text{P} & \text{A} & \text{T} & \text{N} & \text{O} & \text{E} & \text{N} & \text{A} & \text{V} & \text{N} & \text{T} & \text{A} & \text{E} & \text{S} & \text{O} & \text{E} & \text{P} & \text{T} & \text{P} & \text{N} & \text{A} & \text{V} & \text{A} \\ 3 & 2 & 4 & 2 & 4 & 1 & 1 & 2 & 7 & 2 & 1 & 4 & 8 & 2 & 1 & 2 & 3 & 3 & 5 & 1 & 5 & 3 & 1 & 2 \end{matrix}$																								

Figure 2.9 (cont.)

- (1) the addition of new (but certainly not invented) signs (for example the *digamma* and *zeta* types, some types of *ny*, one type of *sigma*, and the different types of *tau*);
- (2) the deletion of others (like *phi*, *psi* and *csi*);
- (3) the adapting of some other signs (*zeta*?).

Particular attention must be devoted to the letter *beta*, because (together with the reversed *ny*) almost all attempts at identification of the possible model (or models) for the Elymian alphabet

Greek letters	α	β	γ	δ	ε	Ϝ	ζ	Η	θ	ι	κ	λ	μ	ν	ξ	ο	π	ϙ	ρ	σ	τ	υ	φ	χ	ψ	ω
Phonol. Value	a	b?	g	d	e	v	z	h	?	i	k	l	m	n	cs	o	p	q	r	s	t	u	ph	ch	ps	ō
Type 1	Α	Β	Γ	Δ	Ε			Η	Θ	Ι	Κ	Λ	Μ	Ν	Ξ	Ο	Π	ϙ	Ρ	Σ	Τ	Υ	Φ	Χ	Ψ	Ω
Type 2	Α		ϸ	Δ	Ε			Η	Θ			Λ	Μ	Ν	Ξ	Ο	Π		Ρ	Σ	Τ			Χ		
Type 3	Α			Δ	Ε			Η											Ρ							
Type 4	Α				Ε									Ν					Ρ							
Type 5	Α																									
Type 6	Α																									
Type 7																										

 Types with only 1-2 occurrences

Figure 2.10 Alphabet from Selinous.

are based on this sign. The problem arises from the presence of three signs in Elymian inscriptions, which can be observed in longer texts: the normal two-loop *beta*, the reversed *ny* and a right-oriented *ny*. Several interpretations of these occurrences have been attempted, but the need to assign a single and specific phonological value for each of the three signs has often led scholars to develop very complex models for reconstructing the borrowing process in the Elymian alphabet.²²

Almost all the alphabets from Sicily show the grapheme *beta* for the bilabial plosive /b/. For the same phoneme in Selinous we find the reversed *ny*, but only from the fifth century onwards; whereas all the cases of reversed *ny* in Elymian belong to the first epigraphic phase. Among all the possible explanations, two are particularly worthy of note. Lejeune (1969: 155) proposed the value /b/ for the reversed *ny*, assigning the value of an allophone of the central open vowel /a/ to the *beta*, as an open mid front vowel /ɛ/ (Lejeune: /ä/). This could explain an unusual morpheme in the coin legends: σεγεσταζιβ, alternating in the Greek form with Σεγεσταζια (and once with Σεγεσταζιε). Agostiniani (1977: 115–19 and 1990: 356–7) proposed assigning the reversed *ny* the same value as it has in the Greek model of Selinous. What remains is to define the value for the grapheme , which he sees as the voiceless labio-dental fricative /f/, near to the original value of /b/. In this way we could better understand σεγεσταζιβ on the coins, with the expressing a sound /f/, thus obtaining a dative plural, as attested for some Italic languages. More recently Agostiniani admitted the possibility that Elymian writers might have been faced with uncertainty, finding two possible models for their grapheme *beta*: the first spread throughout Sicily, the second only to Selinous, which was geographically and culturally closer.

In 1999 I reconsidered all the occurrences of the reversed *ny* and reached the conclusion that of the eight existing cases one was probably drawn in a retrograde *ductus* (obtaining the typical formula ‘dative + *emi*’); in another four cases the texts are not reliable because they are either incomplete or possible cases of retrograde *ductus*.²³ I suggested that the other three cases could be a graphic

²² Lejeune (1970), Agostiniani (1977: 107–22).

²³ Marchesini (2003).

misunderstanding of a normal right-oriented *ny* (nevertheless I decided to include the three reliable cases in the diagram for the purposes of discussion).²⁴ My proposal started from a reinterpretation of the so-called ‘slips of the pen’ in many writing systems of the ancient world.²⁵ Asymmetric graphemes, like *sigma* or *ny*, are often written in an incorrect *ductus* in every writing tradition and in every learning phase of writing. Many examples can be found not only in the modern world, but also in almost every writing tradition of ancient Italy.²⁶ This happens most commonly in *boustrophedon* ‘terrain’: in our case the alternating *ductus* is not just presumed from Elymian epigraphy (we can register only a few cases), but even from the inscriptions from Selinous, which may have led to uncertainty in the realization of some letters.

We can further assume that the short graphic experience of the Elymian world could not establish itself in specialized writing schools. For the most part, the documents consist of private dedications or cult texts: we have no evidence of any official and monumental epigraphy. Moreover, all three secure cases of reversed *ny* in the Elymian inscriptions refer to the first epigraphic phase. In other words, the ‘freak beta’ from Selinous, dating from the fifth century, cannot be considered a model for an older sign in Segesta. As Agostiniani (1990: 349) has pointed out, referring to the coins with $\sigma\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\sigma\tau\alpha\zeta\iota\beta$ alternating with $\sigma\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\sigma\tau\alpha\zeta\iota\epsilon$, workers’ errors are always possible.

It is evident that the alphabetic set from Selinous is not the only source for our alphabet, even if it is the main one. Other models for individual letters are to be looked for not only in the Megarian colonies but also in the other colonies in Sicily.²⁷

²⁴ Agostiniani (1999) disagreed with my proposal, arguing that my attempt to define the value of the reversed *ny* has totally failed. The main reason comes from the inscription no. 317 in Agostiniani (1977), $\text{I}\text{I}\sigma\tau\upsilon\lambda\alpha\iota\tau\upsilon\tau\epsilon$. The possibility of a comparison of the first letter sequence $\text{I}\text{I}\sigma\tau\upsilon\lambda\alpha\iota$ with the name $\text{B}\sigma\tau\upsilon\lambda\omicron$ - in Selinous is a strong argument, but in my opinion the only one. We can also assume, for this inscription, a possible influence from outside (Selinous) and read II as /b/.

²⁵ Marchesini (2008).

²⁶ In Marchesini (2003) I collect cases from Greek epigraphy in Sicily too.

²⁷ The two (rounded and angled) loop betas are also found in Acrae, Gela and Geloan Camarina: Jeffery (1990: 262).

A different outline comes from the analysis of the marks or even from the coin legends.²⁸ The fact that a different grapheme set was used here appears evident when we compare the alphabet sets of the two classes (Figs. 2.6 and 2.8 respectively). The reason for this difference is probably to be found in the social and ethnic status of the craftsmen who produced the coins. That Greek skilled workers were living in Segesta and in the Elymian district, offering their skills to build temples or mint coinage, is not only suggested in the ancient sources (Thuc. 6.2) but also assumed by modern scholars.²⁹

If we do not assign any value other than a normal *ny* to the reversed *ny*, we do not need to look for a different value for *beta* other than that as a bilabial plosive /b/. The consequences of this statement, as we will see, also affect some aspects of the morphology and hence linguistic determination of the Elymian language.

The language

Reconstructing the phonological, morphological, syntactic and lexical characteristics of a relic language such as Elymian is a very long and complex process. In this contribution I will only dwell on a few special features, with the *caveat* that much is still under discussion. We owe the sure reconstruction of some secure traits, which we will shortly describe, principally to Michel Lejeune and Luciano Agostiniani.³⁰

Phonology

The Elymian language shows a system of five vocals: /ieaou/, with prevalence of /a/, but also evidence for /o/: ατροι, φολτικα, δουθενα.³¹ As a consequence of this fact, we must keep Elymian

²⁸ For the coin legends see G. E. Rizzo (1946).

²⁹ Agostiniani (1977: 90). In the description of the single letter Agostiniani (1977: 112–15) admits that coins and inscriptions do indeed show different types. See also Cutroni Tusa (2000).

³⁰ See especially the overview provided by Agostiniani (1990).

³¹ Agostiniani (1990: 359).

separate from the Anatolian languages, which generally show a coincidence of /o/ and /a/.³²

We can moreover be sure of a definite maintenance of diphthongs /ai/ and /ou/, but the same cannot be said for /oi/ and /ei/. Other features are the lack of voiceless fricative plosives (*aspiratae*)³³ – since there is no evidence for graphemes representing this class of sounds – and the presence of both the glide /w/ (and possibly /j/) and at least two fricatives: /s/ and /h/. As for syllable structure, Agostiniani (1990: 32) suggests that this language showed a preference for open syllables belonging to the types (C)V and (C)VR (where C= Consonant, V= Vowel and R= Sonorant).

Morphology

Since most of the inscriptions consist of incomplete texts, we cannot be sure of the identification of morphological suffixes. The only secure features of the nominal inflection regard the *a*-stems, where the nominative appears to be *-a* (in sequences like ακκᾱ or κυττυρᾱ on wheel weights) and the dative singular *-(a)ai* (in words like the personal name Ηαλενιαι on the foot of an Attic *skyphos*). As for the syntactic rule of this last case there is still uncertainty as to whether it expresses possession or the indirect object: it occurs in most cases together with the verb εἰμι ‘I am’.

Other nominal classes are difficult to outline: we have a single piece of firm evidence for the *r*-stems (for example in the sequence ανκδεr on a *lekythos*) and an uncertain case in the sequence σαρ[...].αρ, on a fragment of a *kylix*. Another possible morphological trait is given by coin legends, where the names of the towns Segesta and Eryx appear with the ending *-b* (ΣΕΓΕΣ-ΤΑΖΙΒ, ΕΡΙΚΑΖΙΒ). An attempt has been made to compare this *-b*, interpreted as dative plural, with the Italic suffix *-f* (< **-bhi*; cf. e.g. Oscan *statif*, probably ‘decided’, in the Agnone Bronze table,

³² See for example Luraghi (1997: 202), Lejeune (1970: 183), Agostiniani (1990: 359).

³³ Agostiniani (1980–1: 514). This assumption is derived both from the epigraphic situation, where the graphemes for the plosive *aspiratae* are not present, and from literary sources like Gregory of Corinth who, speaking of the Sicels, writes that they pronounced the *aspiratae* like plosives.

or the South-Picene adverb *estuf*, probably ‘here’, or again the Oscan adverb *puf*, ‘where’/‘when’). This proposal is based on the assumption that the coin legend is expressed in the dative plural, which causes some anomaly in the typology of coin legends.³⁴

Lexicon

The verb $\epsilon\mu\iota$, inscribed in many texts, is used in a similar way to that of other possession formulae of Greek and Italic inscriptions; but the syntagm might also represent a loanword from a very common Greek and Italic possession formula. Apart from this case, no other letter sequence can be compared with lemmas of other known languages. This might be due to the minimal variability of the texts’ repertory.

Language typology

If we jointly consider the morphological traits that we have described up until this point, there is enough evidence to consider the Elymian language an inflecting one.

Onomastics

As we would expect to find in a multi-ethnic milieu, we have traces of a multi-ethnic name stock, as we can argue from cases like the personal names $\tau\iota\tau\epsilon\lambda$ - (with many parallels in Italic languages: Faliscan *Tita*, Latin *Titus*, Etruscan *Titele* etc.); $\Sigma\alpha\beta\alpha\tau$ - (possible parallels in Semitic languages); and $]\epsilon\pi\tau\iota\nu[$, a probable phoneme sequence with parallels in Greek onomastics.

Conclusions

For the attribution of the Elymian language to some specific group in the Indo-European language family we are as much in the dark now as twenty years ago. If we rule out any autonomous phonological value for the reversed *ny*, and consequently assign the *beta*

³⁴ Lejeune (1970). See also Agostiniani (1984–5: 208).

the usual value of a plosive bilabial rather than a fricative (i.e. *Segestazib* and not *Segestazif*), we have to ask ourselves if this morpheme effectively corresponds to the dative plural in Italic languages.

The complex outline we can trace in the case of the Elymian language is perhaps nothing more than the result of an historical situation where the boundaries between peoples of different *ethne* were continuously being re-defined, leading to the creation of ‘multiple identities’ and ‘ethnic changes’. From ethnographic studies and from the comparative sociology of ethnic boundary-making, we learn that ethnicity is the product of a social process, which is continuously re-arranged rather than fixed once and for all, and which is determined by circumstances rather than assigned from birth.³⁵ It could be that the continuous interaction among different peoples in ancient Sicily and a certain degree of multiple identity have prevented us from defining the linguistic attribution of the Elymians in a more precise way. Contacts between the autochthonous people of Sicily and the Greeks, culminating with the complete assimilation and integration of the former into the latter, led to a continuous re-defining of the self vis-à-vis the other. What we observe in the written documentation and in the coinage reveals the different degrees of this mutual interaction.

Together with the evidence from ancient authors who describe the Elymians as a separate entity, the inscriptions allow us to define the Elymian territory – even if only within a restricted chronological framework – as delimited and distinct from their Sicanian and Sikel neighbours.

³⁵ See Barth (1969b), Cohen (1974a), Keyes (1981b), Williams (1996), Wimmer (2008); for an overview see Marchesini (2007: chapter 5).

CHAPTER 3

PHOENICIAN AND PUNIC IN SICILY

Maria Giulia Amadasi Guzzo

The Phoenician language

The Phoenician language belongs to the Canaanite group of West-Semitic, which also includes Ammonite, Edomite, Hebrew, Moabite and so-called Philistian. The adjective ‘Phoenician’ derives from the name ‘Phoenicia’ given by Greeks to the coast of Lebanon and southern Syria. We do not know what the inhabitants of the Phoenician city-states (Arwad, Byblos, Tyre, Sidon being the most important) called themselves: perhaps ‘Canaanites’. Phoenician was originally spoken in southern Syria and Lebanon, from the end of the second millennium BC. From the beginning of the ninth century, following Phoenician colonial expansion, the language spread westward, to Cyprus, Malta, Sicily, Sardinia, southern Spain (including the Balearic islands), and south-west Portugal. The latest dated inscription in the Phoenician language and script comes from Bithia, in Sardinia, and dates to the second century AD (*KAI* 173).

Various ‘dialects’ or phases of Phoenician have been identified (particularly by Garbini (1988a); see also the grammars mentioned below). But in the east, only Byblian (archaic and Persian phases) and standard Phoenician (Tyro-Sidonian) are clear enough. By convention, the Phoenician language of the western colonies, attested from the second half of the sixth century BC, is called Punic, after the name the Romans gave to it. It is in the Roman period that – as historical and archaeological records show – Carthage extended her power over the western Phoenician colonies. Punic continued to be used as late as in St Augustine’s day (AD 354–430) and Punic is epigraphically attested in this period by a group of inscriptions from Tripolitania, written in Latin letters.¹

¹ See Levi Della Vida (1963; 1965), Kerr (2010).

The last phase of Punic, after the fall of Carthage (146 BC), is called Late Punic or Neo-Punic, and is characterized by changes in phonology and morphology, as well as by a specific script.²

Research history

Phoenician was deciphered for the first time by J.-J. Bathélemy and J. Swinton, who did so independently in the second half of the eighteenth century. The basis for the decipherment was a bilingual Phoenician and Greek inscription (*CIS* I 122 and 122bis) engraved on two marble bases. Traditionally believed to have been found originally in Malta, the bases preserve a Phoenician dedication to the god Milqart, corresponding to Heracles in Greek.³ However, the first scientific study of the Phoenician and Punic inscriptions known at that time was only carried out in 1837 by Wilhelm Gesenius (*Gesenius* (1837)). It consists of an analysis (texts and commentary) and drawings of all available Phoenician and Punic texts, including the Punic monologue in Plautus' comedy *Poenulus* (Sznycer (1967)). Gesenius' work served as the basis for the first grammar of the language published by Paul Schröder in 1869. Already in 1867 E. Renan had founded in Paris the *Corpus inscriptionum semiticarum*, whose *Pars prima* was devoted to Phoenician inscriptions (the first volume, *CIS* I.1, appeared in 1881).

Between the late nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century the study of Phoenician was carried on by oriental philologists and epigraphists focusing on West-Semitic languages of the first millennium BC. Particularly noteworthy is the work of Mark Lidzbarski, the first scholar to have written a handbook of North-West Semitic epigraphy, which still remains a fundamental text (Lidzbarski (1868)). In 1936 the first historical grammar of Phoenician and Punic was written by the general linguist Zellig S. Harris, who a few years later reconstructed the history of the Canaanite dialects. His reconstruction is still a model for West Semitic.⁴ In 1951 a Phoenician-Punic grammar was published

² On Punic, see Friedrich, Röllig and Amadasi Guzzo (1999: 1–2) and Amadasi Guzzo (2005). On Late Punic, see Amadasi Guzzo (1999a).

³ But see Amadasi Guzzo and Rossignani (2002).

⁴ Z. Harris (1936) and (1939); cf. Garr (1985).

by Johannes Friedrich, which thanks to its overarching scope soon became the classical reference grammar for Phoenician and Punic: it has now reached its third enlarged and revised edition.⁵

In the meantime, many important works had been devoted to the study of the language and its inscriptions – many new ones having come to light. Among these we may mention the still classic study by Segert (1976); Cunchillos and Zamora (1997) for students; and Krahmalkov (2001) for a more specialized readership. The standard anthologies of texts are those published by Herbert Donner and Wolfgang Röllig, devoted to Canaanite and Aramaic inscriptions (*KAI*), and by John C. L. Gibson. This latter scholar has written three volumes on North-West Semitic inscriptions, the third consisting of a collection of Phoenician texts (Gibson (1982)). There are also a number of dictionaries: following the glossary in Z. Harris (1936), H. Jean and J. Hoftijzer realized a first dictionary of West-Semitic inscriptions (Jean and Hoftijzer (1965)), written in French. This was completely reworked in 1995 by Jacob Hoftijzer and Karel Jongeling (Hoftijzer and Jongeling (1995)). Phoenician-Punic dictionaries have been released by Richard S. Tomback (1978), Maria-José Fuentes Estañol (1980) and finally Charles R. Krahmalkov (Krahmalkov (2000)). Krahmalkov's dictionary is the one of greatest interest for scholars, because it contains many new interpretations; it should be used with caution by students, as its new suggestions are not always fully explained or justified. The standard work on personal names is that by Frank L. Benz (1972).

Only one comprehensive study has been devoted so far to the analysis of Phoenician scripts (Peckham (1968)). However, a thorough study of Phoenician-Punic epigraphy (and of the alphabet's origins) is presented by Giovanni Garbini (Garbini (2006)) in his handbook *Introduzione all'epigrafia semitica*.

Phoenician colonization: the case of Sicily

Since ancient times, Phoenicians had been travellers and merchants: Greek authors provide the names and dates of some of

⁵ Friedrich (1951), Friedrich and Röllig (1970), Friedrich, Röllig and Amadasi Guzzo (1999).

their foundations, which in three cases (Gades, Lixus and Utica) are linked with the Trojan war and the 'return of the Heraclidae' in the late second millennium BC. However, no archaeological evidence for this ancient phase of colonization survives: it is possible that the high chronology derives from abstract reckoning of the number of generations that were thought to have passed, linked to the traditions concerning Troy.⁶ No evidence for permanent Phoenician presence in the west would seem to extend further back than the first quarter of the eighth century, even if the traditional chronology for the Iron Age in the west is disputed.⁷ It is the need for raw materials such as copper, tin and silver, which was especially abundant in the Iberian peninsula and in Sardinia, that explains the spread of people from the east – as these metals were not found in the homeland. The exchange of other products (oil, wine, textiles) is also attested. Phoenicians followed routes already known in the Late Bronze Age and it is most likely that Phoenician colonization was preceded by a period of travels and exchanges.⁸

Thucydides (6.2) records that the Phoenicians had already settled throughout Sicily before the Greek colonization. After the Greeks' arrival, they withdrew to the west, occupying Panormus, the small island of Motya and Soluntum (see Map 3 for the main Phoenician and Punic sites). After the fall of Motya in 397 BC, its inhabitants founded Lilybaeum (now Marsala). As relations and wars between Phoenicians and Greeks in Sicily are widely attested by ancient authors, attention to Phoenician inscriptions, especially by Sicilian scholars, began as early as the seventeenth century, when the Phoenician alphabet and language had yet to be deciphered (at the beginning of this century A. Cordici copied a dedication to Ashtart from Eryx, *CIS I* 135, now lost).

From an archaeological point of view, Thucydides' reconstruction remains unproven. The most ancient remains on Motya are dated to the second half of the eighth century BC. The extant

⁶ See Gras, Rouillard and Teixidor (1989: 54–7).

⁷ See contributions in Bartoloni and Delpino (2004) and, among these, Botto (2004) for the Phoenician West. See also Docter *et al.* (2008) and Albanese Procelli (2008).

⁸ See contributions in Acquaro, Godart, Mazza and Musti (1988) and, specifically on Sicily, V. Tusa (1988).

written documents are nearly one and a half centuries later.⁹ As far as Panormos is concerned, since a modern city has been built over it, only a few documents have been found. Inscriptions datable from the fourth to the second/first century BC have come to light in Elymian Eryx and Punic Lilybaeum, as well as in Greek settlements that underwent a period of Carthaginian domination (such as Selinous), or had commercial links with western Sicily. A number of coins bearing Punic legends have been unearthed. It is still unclear as to where many of these may have been minted.

With the exception of the coins with Punic legends (Manfredi (1995: 327–53)), inscriptions in the Phoenician alphabet are rather rare in Sicily in comparison to North Africa and Sardinia. Even the island of Malta has preserved more documents than Sicily. This situation is certainly due to the predominance of Greek culture in Phoenician Sicily. On the other hand, letters on stone blocks, short graffiti on pottery and especially Punic letters on seals impressed on jars are quite numerous in inner and eastern Sicily, which probably suggests that Punic settlers could be found throughout the island.

Motya

The most ancient texts (about forty), spanning the sixth century BC, have been found on the island of Motya (modern San Pantaleo) during the excavations carried out since 1964 by Rome University under the direction of Antonia Ciasca and now of Lorenzo Nigro.¹⁰ The inscriptions come mostly from the local *tophet*, levels V to III (which cover the sixth century: cf. Ciasca (1972–3; 1992), and are carved on the bases of stelae made of local sandstone. *Tophet* – deriving from Biblical Hebrew – is the name conventionally given to a kind of sanctuary consisting mainly of an open-air space – generally a precinct, accompanied by small structures – where terracotta urns containing the charred bones of small children and/or animals were buried, often with accompanying votive markers. Like the inscriptions from similar *tophets* known from North Africa (the largest being the Carthage *tophet*), Sardinia and

⁹ See Amadasi Guzzo (1999b).

¹⁰ The texts are collected in Amadasi Guzzo (1986b).

Malta,¹¹ the Motya inscriptions are dedications to Baʿl Hamon.¹² Each dedication consists of an offering usually labelled MTNT, ‘gift’; sometimes we find the feminine word MLKT – already attested in Carthage – which is most commonly used in the masculine form MLK to refer to a specific kind of sacrifice.¹³

Also from Motya comes a dedication to the goddess Ashtart (Uberti (1978: 318–19)), engraved on a severely damaged stele of local stone discovered in the fields. The text cannot be reconstructed, but its syntax is the same as that attested in *tophet* dedications. On the basis of its letter shapes, it is possible to date this inscription to a period just after that of the *tophet* inscriptions, between the sixth and the fifth century BC.

Only two funerary texts, dated to the fifth century, are known at present: CIS I 137¹⁴ and that published by Coacci Polselli (1978). They display a very simple and well-known formulaic language (‘Tomb belonging to X’ + function; or ‘Tomb belonging to X son of Y’). The personal names contained in these two funerary texts and in the *tophet* inscriptions are often rarely attested or even completely unknown in the Phoenician/Punic world. Interestingly, a fake was produced by copying one of these inscriptions: it consists of a golden bull statuette, with the text of a Motya funeral inscription engraved on its base. The fake has been known since 1779; it was first published in 1857 by G. Ugdulena,¹⁵ and included by P. Schröder (1869: 252–3) in his Phoenician grammar. CIS I 137 already recognized that it was a forgery.

Was Greek used in Motya? Certainly, Greeks resided on the island (see D.S. 14.53.2.4), and the famous marble statue of a young man found in zone K is a Greek artefact from the early fifth

¹¹ No such precincts have been discovered until now in the Iberian peninsula.

¹² The transcription Baʿl instead of the common Baʿal or Baal corresponds to the Phoenician form of this word: see Friedrich, Röllig and Amadasi Guzzo (1999: §193a). The orthography Hamon instead of Hammon is due in particular to Greek transcriptions; see Friedrich, Röllig and Amadasi Guzzo (1999: §35c).

¹³ Attested for the first time in Malta on two inscriptions dated to the seventh century (CIS I 123, 123bis), this word, which from its context would appear to denote the kind of offering commemorated by the inscription, derives from the Phoenician root YLK, ‘to go’, and means ‘sacrifice’ (i.e. ‘what has been brought’). The noun MLK/MLKT is used only in *tophet* contexts; cf. Amadasi Guzzo (2007–8).

¹⁴ The dead was MTR ‘the potter’ (H-YŠR).

¹⁵ Ugdulena (1857: 48–52); cf. Schröder (1869: 252–3).

century.¹⁶ A fragmentary marble vessel, subsequently inscribed in Phoenician, is also certainly Greek, though it is not clear whether it was imported or made locally.¹⁷ An interesting fragmentary abecedary was also found in the industrial zone K;¹⁸ it contains a series of Greek letters, probably engraved *in situ* on two fragments of a jar classified as Samian. The alphabet, identified as Chalcidian in spite of some irregularities, is dated to the fifth century BC. By contrast, only two Greek funerary inscriptions have been found in the Birgi necropolis, on the Sicilian coast opposite Motya.

Lilybaeum

After the fall of Motya, some of its former inhabitants founded Lilybaeum, whose Phoenician name is not known. Covered by the modern town of Marsala, the ancient city has only partially been rediscovered. Only a few inscriptions in the Phoenician alphabet have been found, since Greek was more commonly used in written texts. Nonetheless, some personal names written in Punic are engraved on tombs¹⁹ and, more interestingly, two inscribed votive stelae have been discovered in the local *tophet*.²⁰ The *tophet* was probably situated in the place once called 'Timpone di S. Antonio', in the southern area of the modern town;²¹ the inscriptions are dated, according to their typology and letter shapes, from the end of the fourth to the third or second century BC. They show that in this traditional sanctuary inhabitants continued to employ their own language and script, which had probably been abandoned for other written usages.

Some other short inscriptions give personal names that are difficult to read and interpret.²² Some letters are stamped on jars.²³ Interesting, but not completely understood, are the letters and

¹⁶ See contributions in Bonacasa and Buttitta (1988).

¹⁷ See Coacci Polsellì (1986). ¹⁸ See Falsone and Calascibetta (1991).

¹⁹ See Amadasi Guzzo (1993: 61–2).

²⁰ Another stela in the Whitaker collection which is held to be from Lilybaeum is probably Carthaginian: see Whitaker (1921: 290, Fig. 70); cf. R. De Simone (1997b: 449) and Amadasi Guzzo (1999b: 34–5).

²¹ Cf. CIS I 138, Whitaker (1921: 290, Fig. 71).

²² See Amadasi Guzzo (1972–3: 286–7), Rocco (1974).

²³ Guzzo Amadasi (1967: 79), Garbini (1967: 71).

words painted on a shipwreck found in the waters off the coast of Marsala (Johnstone (1983)).

A few Greek documents preserve originally Phoenician names. The names $\mu\upsilon\lambda\chi$, $\mu\upsilon\lambda\chi\omega\nu\varsigma$ and $\iota\nu\beta\alpha\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ from a *tessera hospitalis* studied by Masson (1976) have recently been discussed again by Cordano (2000: 313) and Amadasi Guzzo (2000: 7–8), who have reconstructed their Phoenician versions as $\text{ḤMLK BN ḤMLKT BN 'DNB'L}$ (*ḥimilk bin ḥimilkot bin 'Adoniba'l*).²⁴ However, it would seem more probable that their Phoenician original was $\text{ḤMLK BN ḤMLK BN 'DNB'L}$ (*ḥimilk bin ḥimilk bin 'Adoniba'l*), with the second form being the genitive of the first name, and not of a different one. The patronymic, $\mu\upsilon\lambda\chi\omega\nu$, in the nominative, corresponds elsewhere to ḤMLKT (*ḥimilkot* ‘brother of the Queen’) but also to ḤMLK (*ḥimilk* ‘brother of the King’).²⁵ The correspondence between Greek χ and Phoenician k is regular in this period and possibly points to the fricative pronunciation of *kaf* in this phase of the history of the Phoenician language, whereas it was probably a stop in an earlier period.²⁶

The name Απιθαμβολ occurs in a *tabella defixionis* published by A. Brugnone.²⁷ This name is not easy to explain,²⁸ but it may perhaps simply correspond to ‘BDB'L ‘servant of Ba'l’ (*Abdba'l*), with the change of the voiced consonants to voiceless; *my* before *beta* is perhaps a way of rendering the occlusive pronunciation of Phoenician *bet*. Another *tabella* attests the personal name Αγβωρ ,²⁹ which corresponds to the well-known Phoenician ‘KBR ‘mouse’ (*Akbor*), and shows change of voiceless *kaf* to voiced *gamma*.

Palermo

Modern Palermo (Greek Panormos), like Marsala, has covered the remains of the Phoenician town, which was almost certainly called

²⁴ The vocalizations proposed derive from comparison with other Semitic languages or from Akkadian, Greek or Latin transcriptions.

²⁵ ‘King’ and ‘Queen’ here refer not to human rulers, but to a god and a goddess respectively.

²⁶ See Friedrich, Röllig and Amadasi Guzzo (1999: §37.2).

²⁷ See Bechtold and Brugnone (1997: 116).

²⁸ For a tentative explanation, see C. De Simone (1999b: 209).

²⁹ Brugnone (1984).

ŠYS.³⁰ The etymology and meaning of this name have long been discussed with little result. Inscriptions in Phoenician are rare. A vase which bore an inscription indicating its ownership is now lost (*CIS* I 133),³¹ but we still have an incomplete Neo-Punic text, probably of funerary origin, which has often been discussed.³² This inscription is of much interest for the personal names it features, and which have been linked to North Africa. This suggestion finds partial confirmation in the script, which also appears to refer to a North African context.

A small black-painted cup dated to the sixth century is incised with the well-known personal name MGN,³³ while a finger-ring found in a tomb shows three letters probably to be read, from right to left, as L'Š, an abbreviation of L'ŠTRT (the iconography is linked to that of Ashtart of Eryx).³⁴ In the surroundings of Palermo, on the slope of Monte Gallo, we find a cavern (called Grotta Regina) overlooking the sea, that was once used as a sanctuary, possibly by seamen. Its rock walls are covered in drawings – often ships – and texts painted in black ink. These mainly consist of requests for blessings from the gods and can be dated between the fifth/fourth and second/first century BC, on the basis of their letter shapes. Among these texts, two are prayers to Shadrapa, 'Shed healer', a god well known in Phoenicia and in the West, and who in Roman times was assimilated to Liber Pater in Leptis Magna.³⁵ No important contribution can be gained from these texts at a linguistic level; their significance is mostly cultural and palaeographic, as they provide examples of a semi-cursive script, with letters which already resemble the Neo-Punic ones.

³⁰ Manfredi (1995: 112–14).

³¹ A stele with a dedication to Tinnit and Ba'l Hamon (coll. De Gregorio, now in Palermo, Museo archeologico) that was allegedly discovered on Monte Pellegrino probably comes from Carthage. Cf. De Gregorio and Guidi (1902) (= *RES* 525), R. De Simone (1997b).

³² See *CIS* I 134, Garbini (1967: 68), Coacci Polsellì (1980–1), Amadasi Guzzo (1986a: 187–9).

³³ R. De Simone (1998: 432, 433, N[ecropoli] 7).

³⁴ See R. De Simone (1998: 429, V[ivai] G[itto] 217).

³⁵ See Lipiński (1992b).

Soluntum

The originally Phoenician Soluntum (a Phoenician name whose meaning is uncertain, KPR', is preserved on coins), located on the promontory of Solanto, has not been fully investigated. Destroyed in the early fourth century BC, it was rebuilt on the hill of Monte Catalfano. A sixth- or fifth-century Phoenician necropolis is located at Santa Flavia, where a small cup with the feminine name GRT has been found.³⁶

From the new town an interesting clay object has been brought to light; it bears two short inscriptions, one in Phoenician letters and the other in Greek script, both engraved before firing, which V. Tusa published in 1964.³⁷ The inscription in Greek reads Φαδῖς, which has been recently explained as an Oscan *gentilicium* (L'Erario (2008)). The text in Phoenician is also likely to be a personal name preceded by L- 'belonging to', but its reading is not quite certain and the name cannot clearly be identified. I suggest reading it as 'BD or 'PD, in which case the name could correspond to Φαδῖς.³⁸ Alternatively, since the last name is a *gentilicium*, the person referred to might have been called 'BB/D Φαδῖς, with the first form being the individual Phoenician name (reading 'BD, a hypocoristic form meaning 'servant of' the god X), which was written in the original alphabet to show the particular ability of a person possibly of mixed origins.

Eryx

In Elymian Eryx, which had a Punic phase, the local goddess was identified with Ashtart, who bore the epithet 'RK (the Phoenician rendering of the Elymian toponym). Ashtart's cult spread to Carthage, as is attested by two Carthaginian inscriptions from the local *tophet* (CIS I 3776 and 4910), and to Sardinia, as is attested by a dedication from Cagliari (CIS I 140).

The epithet 'RK can be read on the already mentioned lost inscription copied by A. Cordici (CIS I 135).³⁹ The drawing does

³⁶ R. De Simone (1997a).

³⁷ See Tusa (1965). Cf. Rocco (1968), Garbini (1984), C. De Simone (1999b: 206–7).

³⁸ However, the last letter has the shape of a *bet*.

³⁹ On coins with the legend 'RK, see Manfredi (1995: 347).

not allow us to read the entire text, but only to identify the formulaic expressions, the names of the goddess and the presence of two suffetes;⁴⁰ however, it is impossible to know if these suffetes were ruling Eryx, another Phoenician town in Sicily, or Carthage. This is the only text from Sicily where such magistrates are mentioned and we do not know if Sicilian Punic towns were administered directly from Carthage in the third century BC. No public function is mentioned in Motya, where the dedicators in the *tophet* give only their genealogy. In the funerary inscriptions we only find mention of a 'potter'.

A Punic necropolis has been excavated in Eryx; near it, a stele of a kind typical of *tophets* has been found.⁴¹ In the Punic period a *tophet* is also thought to have existed here, as in nearly all western Phoenician settlements. Still, it has not yet been identified, and it has also recently been suggested that the Eryx stele may come from Carthage. Whatever may be the case, isolated letters found on some blocks of the walls testify to the work of masons of Phoenician origin (see *CIS* I 136). Thus, it is quite certain that in some period a consistent group of inhabitants of Phoenician origin resided at Eryx (see also the coins cited above).

Segesta, Selinous and Agrigentum

The case of Segesta appears rather different: Punic characters have been found on stamp-seals impressed on jars; these have not been adequately published yet, but they are likely to have been imported. Some seals with possibly Punic names written in Greek letters are also interesting. Similar stamps, impressed on local jars, have been found in Byrsa (Carthage). They probably show that there were vessels of Punic make especially meant for exportation.⁴²

Punic presence in Selinous, which was occupied by Carthaginians in 406 BC, is confirmed by archaeology: a series of Punic houses have been excavated.⁴³ A block belonging to temple C, known since the late nineteenth century, contains a Phoenician

⁴⁰ See Guzzo Amadasi (1967: 53–5). ⁴¹ See Bisi (1969).

⁴² For a general discussion of jars impressed with stamps, see Zamora López (2005).

⁴³ See Helas (2009).

letter.⁴⁴ In the same temple, a hoard of *bullae* have been found, some of which are inscribed. One inscription, with several attestations, reads MSPT or NSPT,⁴⁵ a word that might indicate a local Punic assembly if we choose to derive it from root 'SP, with elision of *alef* – a phenomenon which was common in that period (cf. RŠ for R'Š on coins: Friedrich, Röllig and Amadasi Guzzo (1999: §29)). The widespread presence of stamps on commercial jars shows the intensity of local commercial exchanges with the Punic world and the wide circulation of Punic products in the area.⁴⁶

A Punic quarter has also been excavated in Greek Akragas, but as for written documents only a stamp-seal on a jar has come to light.⁴⁷ It is perhaps interesting to note that the name of the town, written 'GRGNT, has been identified on Punic inscription *CIS* I 5510 from Carthage, a dating formulary (?) that probably records the Carthaginian conquest of the city in 403 BC.⁴⁸ A short graffito on a Greek jar has been found in Colle Madore, between Himera and Agrigento.⁴⁹

Inscriptions (usually engraved) on small objects, on jars or small vases, have been found all over Sicily, reflecting the endurance of relations with the Punic world – mostly of a commercial nature – up until Roman times: an example is the seal from Marineo with the name BAHANNO (see C. De Simone (1999b: 213)). These inscriptions also show that the Punic language continued to be used until at least the first century BC and that it was written using a kind of Neo-Punic script with local letter shapes, which are highly schematized and difficult to read and bear little resemblance to the alphabet used in North Africa.

The Phoenician language in Sicily

How can we define the language and script attested in Sicily in the broader context of Phoenician? The question is bedevilled

⁴⁴ Guzzo Amadasi (1967: 59, Sic[ilia] 8).

⁴⁵ See Salinas (1883: 300, 314).

⁴⁶ See Guzzo Amadasi (1967: 70–81). A new inscription with an abecedarium on a small limestone stele from Selinous (fourth/third cent. BC) is now published in R. De Simone (2010: 186–7 Fig. 4).

⁴⁷ See C. De Simone (1999b: 211, n. 55).

⁴⁸ See Schmitz (1994).

⁴⁹ See C. De Simone (1999b: 213–15).

by the paucity of the available material. However, we can try to analyse it from the point of view of phonology, morphology, syntax and vocabulary, and finally from the point of view of graphic conventions and letter shapes. Obviously, these various points are closely related to one another.

Phonology

The writing conventions of Phoenician were strict ones and were generally preserved unchanged until the fall of Carthage (146 BC), when the traditional scribal rules were abandoned and the written records started reflecting the spoken language more closely (Amadasi Guzzo (2005)). Hence, it is difficult to reconstruct the real phonetic shape of the language. In terms of orthographic conventions, Sicilian inscriptions show the tendency to drop laryngeal consonants, especially *alef*, which is used as a *mater lectionis* (that is, an indication for vowels).

Evidence for this tendency may be found in the fact that the letter *alef* is normally used in the legends of Motya coins as a final vowel (MTW'; see Manfredi (1995: 347–8)),⁵⁰ which is seldom the case in Phoenician (where this only occurs with a few foreign personal names). Moreover, the article H- is often written <'>, as it later was in Carthage and in other originally Phoenician colonies.

In the West, after the sixth century, the third person suffix pronoun, in the accusative and genitive cases, which after a vowel -a is only vocalic, is written with *alef*, while in Phoenician the final vowel is not written.⁵¹ In the Motya inscriptions this particular case is never attested. Only in fourth- or third/second-century BC inscriptions from Lilybaeum can we observe this phenomenon, which was then widespread in the Punic world. In votive formulae the expression 'his voice', in the phrase KŠM' QL' 'because he (the god) heard his voice', is thus written QL', [qōlō], with final *alef*, corresponding to /ō/; the same word is always written

⁵⁰ The name probably derives from a root TWY, the final <'> noting a final /ē/: cf. Greek Μοτύη (see Friedrich, Röllig and Amadasi Guzzo (1999: §75c, §102)).

⁵¹ Cf. Friedrich, Röllig and Amadasi Guzzo (1999: §112).

QL in the eastern homeland (the development being */qawla-hū/ > */qōla-hū/ > */qōlaw/ > /qōlō/).

What is particularly interesting in the Motya inscriptions is that they provide the earliest written evidence for a development that led to the loss of laryngeals and pharyngeals, a feature characteristic of Punic, especially in its Late Punic phase.

Morphology

In the West we find a strong tendency to dissimilate an originally assimilated *nun* before a consonant: for example the word ‘gift’ is MTT in Phoenician, while in the West it is recorded as MTNT. Motya is again the first to show the western form MTNT.⁵²

Syntax and formulaic vocabulary

In votive formulaic expressions from Motya the name of the god or goddess is placed at the beginning, while in Phoenicia the god’s name comes at the end of the inscription. The syntactical order attested at Motya is typical of western Phoenician, and the Sicilian examples, along with a few Carthaginian inscriptions, are the earliest of this kind: the whole picture of the inscribed monuments from Motya fits well with a late-archaic period – a period also attested by the inscription from Pyrgi, which was produced a few decades later than the Motya-*tophet* texts. It is in the sixth century that, in the West, Phoenician begins (at least in written documents) to present certain peculiarities that will later become the rule in Carthage and elsewhere.⁵³

In Lilybaeum, dedicatory formulae evolved from the sixth century, conforming to general Punic usage. This type of dedication came to be described as NDR ‘vow’; also the verb used is NDR, like in Carthage. Yet these Sicilian formulae are rather different from the Carthaginian ones (reflecting specific religious beliefs and rituals); in particular, in Carthage Tinnit is assigned first place,

⁵² See Friedrich, Röllig and Amadasi Guzzo (1999: §58c).

⁵³ See Amadasi Guzzo (1989–90).

before Ba‘l, while in Lilybaeum the goddess is not mentioned at all.⁵⁴

Personal names

The largest group of personal names comes from the Motya votive inscriptions. Some personal names here are common Phoenician (as opposed to Punic) ones, while others are perfectly Semitic in their morphology, but seldom attested – if at all – elsewhere.⁵⁵ The names in later inscriptions are somewhat more widespread. Even from this point of view, then, Motya appears a peculiar case, and this peculiarity is probably largely due to the chronology of the written material, which differs from that of the majority of later western inscriptions.

Script

In Motya the letter shapes are very similar to the Phoenician ones, but there is already a tendency to trace longer strokes and to incline the letters, a way of writing which was destined to become common in Carthage and spread throughout the west. So perhaps what we have in Motya (and similarly in Pyrgi, with its famous Phoenician inscription, *KAI* 277, dated to around 500 BC – only slightly later than the Motya texts) are some hints of a new kind of script which was to become common, and which eventually prevailed in the so-called Punic phase.⁵⁶

Until the fall of Carthage a common script, shared formulae and specific orthographic and phonological characters lent unity to all west Phoenician written records, probably as the result of rules established by the Carthaginian bureaucratic tradition. The *ductus* of the so-called Punic script, especially in more carefully inscribed texts, has characters similar to those of ink writing (see the shading of shafts, Peckham (1968)), deriving from the script of a chancellery – probably the Carthaginian one.

⁵⁴ The name of Tinnit is restored on the stele, which probably comes from Carthage; see R. De Simone (1997b: 449), Amadasi Guzzo (1999b: 34–5). Cf. n. 20.

⁵⁵ See Amadasi Guzzo (1986b: 59–69). ⁵⁶ See Amadasi Guzzo (1986b: 72–94).

Outside Motya, the documents are too scanty to be classified linguistically. The script generally conforms to the one attested in North Africa, even if, as elsewhere, local features are to be found (in the script, but not in the phonology, morphology or lexicon). Longer texts, such as the lost dedication to Ashtart from Eryx (*CIS* I 135), show a clear Carthaginian imprint, in script, formulae and probably also in the usage of *alef* as a vowel for the suffix of the third person singular, as well as in the name of the highest magistrates – the suffetes.

Conclusions

We have in Sicily the first attestations of a western tradition of the Phoenician language and script. In Carthage the most ancient documents (*CIS* I 5684–5), dated by J.-G. Février to the end of the seventh century BC, still preserve the formulae and probably orthographic traditions too of their mother-city.⁵⁷ But some fragmentary inscriptions contemporary to the Motya ones⁵⁸ conform with the Motya-*tophet* texts in their word order and thus present a first visible change from eastern Phoenician. We do not know if this change first occurred in Sicily and then spread to Carthage, or vice versa, nor for what reasons. In any case, it is interesting to observe that the Pyrgi inscription (see above) has the western formulae and some character of the western script, so that its links with the West, most probably with Carthage, seem ascertained.

It is likely that by the fifth century BC a specific writing, orthographic, and probably phonological standard had become established in all Phoenician colonies. This we may describe as Punic. It is only at a much later stage, after the fall of Carthage, that significant developments may be observed. In terms of script we find interesting local varieties, for instance in Tripolitania, where the script is remarkably different from the one found in Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco. As far as Sicily is concerned, very little can

⁵⁷ The golden pendant *CIS* I 6057, dated to the first half of the seventh century BC, is most probably an import.

⁵⁸ In Motya the two inscriptions from the *tophet*'s level V (beginning of the sixth century BC) also show the new formulae.

be said owing to the lack of material, since by then Greek had become dominant. In terms of language, the western inscriptions for the first time show phonological and morphological developments that are likely to have been only relatively new, since they already appear in Hanno's monologue in Plautus' *Poenulus*.⁵⁹ Sadly enough, almost nothing can be said about Sicily, again owing to the dearth of material.

⁵⁹ See Amadasi Guzzo (1999a).

CHAPTER 4

OSCAN IN SICILY

James Clackson

Introduction: Plato and the languages of Sicily

ἦξει δέ, ἐάνπερ τῶν εἰκότων γίγνηται τι καὶ ἀπευκτῶν, σχεδὸν εἰς ἑρημίαν
τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς φωνῆς Σικελία πᾶσα, Φοινικῶν ἢ Ὀπικῶν μεταβαλοῦσα εἰς τινα
δυναστείαν καὶ κράτος.

(Plato, *Epist.* 8.353e)

But should any of these consequences – likely as they are though lamentable – come to pass, hardly a trace of the Greek tongue will remain in all Sicily, since it will have been transformed into a dominion or dependency of Phoenicians or the Opici.

(translation after R. G. Bury, Loeb)

Plato's eighth letter presents one of the few surviving ancient accounts of the language situation in Sicily in the fourth century BC. Greek stands to lose out to the languages spoken by the other foreign peoples with influence in Sicily, the Carthaginians and the *Opici*. The importance given to the Opici in this account is striking, and it seems natural to associate their language with the Italic language Oscan, for which we have epigraphic evidence of use in Ancient Sicily. A recent account, (Sironen (1995)), has presented a vivid picture of the spread of Oscan in Sicily, and the reasons for its ultimate decline in the classical period, including a reconstruction of the sociolinguistic status of Oscan vis-à-vis Greek and Latin. In this chapter I shall re-examine the evidence for the history of Oscan in Sicily, and re-assess the importance of the language in the linguistic make-up of the island before the Roman period.

The Platonic account of language in Sicily is a good place to start a reappraisal of the evidence, particularly given renewed speculation about the authenticity of the epistles. Scholars have long expressed doubts about whether the letters attributed to Plato

were actually written by him, or whether they are antique forgeries. Some of the letters are more clearly later confections, but the seventh and eighth letters have stood up to criticism longer than most (see Klosko (2006: 197 n. 3) for a defence of the authenticity of these letters based on various considerations, including the number of previous scholars who have thought that they are genuine).

The eighth letter, like the seventh letter, with which it has explicit and implicit links, is presented as an open letter to the family and friends of Dion, tyrant of Syracuse, and relates to Sicilian political events before and after the death of the tyrant Dionysius around the year 353 BC. In recent years, the doubts over the eighth letter have grown: Finley (1968: 92) pointed out that in the setting of a civil war ‘more useless and empty advice’ than that which Plato gives ‘would be hard to imagine’, and noted the factual inaccuracies and the events related in the letters which do not appear in other contemporary and later sources; and Brunt thought the implication in the letter that Dion’s surviving son was a grown man was a clear blunder by a later author (Brunt (1993: 339–41)). The seventh letter, itself taken as genuine by Brunt, and on which the eighth letter depends, has recently come under attack as well: Schofield (2006: 16–17) noted (following an unpublished paper of Myles Burnyeat) the inconsistencies with Plato’s presentation of his authorial voice in the seventh letter and the *Republic*. The *Republic* is a dialogue, and what is put in the mouth of Socrates is not necessarily presented as the opinion of Plato, but in the seventh letter the author refers to the *Republic* as an authentic statement of his own (i.e. Plato’s) views. Schofield concludes that the seventh letter is a gauche concoction of passages from Plato’s existing works. If this is true of the seventh letter, it must also be true of the eighth. Of course, it is possible that the letter is indeed a later forgery, but that the linguistic observation contained within it is nevertheless correct. After all, the author of the eighth letter, even if not Plato, was closer to the fourth century BC than we are today. We need to look a little more closely at the terms of reference of the statement, and the evidence from other sources that has bearing on the question.

Who were the *Opici* and what language did they speak?

The first point to consider is the meaning and use of the term *Opici* (Greek Ὀπικοί; see Dubuisson (1983) for a detailed survey of the ancient sources for the word, and consideration of its etymology). As with many other ethnic terms in Greek and Latin, and indeed in many languages around the world, the names used for the inhabitants of central and southern Italy in ancient times are confused and confusing. The term *Opici* is loosely applied at various times to different Italian peoples. Thucydides (6.2.4) uses the term to describe the people who drove the Sicels out of Italy into Sicily, and refers to Kyme (Cumae) as a town in *Opikia* (6.4.5.); Aristotle (*Pol.* 1329b) describes the *Opici* as settling Italy as far north as Tuscany; and the fourth-century geographer Eudoxus, as preserved in Stephanus of Byzantium, states of the *Opici* that γλῶσσας συνέμιξαν ‘they mixed languages’ (fr. 321 in Lasserre (1966)). The Roman encyclopedist Pliny, writing in the first century AD (*Nat.* 29.13), reports the complaint of the orator Cato, who lived over two hundred years earlier, that the Greeks, in addition to their other failings, *nos quoque dictitant barbaros et spurcius nos quam alios opicon appellatione foedant* ‘they call us barbarians as well, and they disgrace us yet more foully than others with the name of *Opici*’. We cannot know the truth of Cato’s implication that some Greeks deliberately affected confusion about the peoples of Italy in apparent disdain for non-Greek cultures, but his statement does underline the inconsistency of the use of the term in Greek sources.

In Latin texts the term *Opici* is a little more clear-cut. Among Roman antiquarians, *Opici* was recognized as an archaic form of *Osci*, also spelt *Obsci* or *Opsci* (Festus 204.28); in later Latin authors of the Empire *opicus* was employed to mean ‘rustic’ or ‘barbarian’ (Dubuisson (1983: 526–30), Barbera and Russo (2004)). The Latin adjective *O(b)scus* is occasionally applied to people and places, but usually in a non-specific sense. However, glosses of what we would now term Oscan words in Roman sources (see the collection gathered in von Planta (1897: 589–90) use the adverb *Obsce* or *Osce* ‘in Oscan’, or include phrases such as *lingua Osca* or *Oscorum lingua* ‘the language of the Oscans’, or employ

expressions such as ‘the *Osci* say . . .’ (Dubuisson (1983: 535)). Since Roman authors do not use a derived form of *Samnium* or *Samnis* ‘inhabitant of Samnium, Samnite’ to refer to the language which was spoken in Samnium, or a derived form of *Campania* or *Campanus* ‘Campanian’ to refer to language, and indeed do not speak of the ‘language of the Campanians/Samnites’ at all, it seems likely that *Oscus* was primarily a linguistic label for the Romans, and modern practice follows them in using Oscan to refer to the language spoken in central and southern Italy and its epigraphical remains, and in referring to actual peoples as Campanians, Samnites or speakers of Oscan, rather than ‘Oscans’.

The nomenclature of the speakers of Oscan and the inhabitants of southern Italy is further complicated by the account of the Greek geographer Strabo, writing in the Augustan period at Rome. Strabo distinguishes the Opici (Οπιτικοί) from the Osci (Όσκοι, e.g. 5.242), borrowing the latter term from the Latin word *Osci*. According to Strabo, the Opici were early inhabitants of Campania, who were ousted by the Sidicini, an ‘Oscan tribe’; at 5.4.8 Strabo further complicates things by stating that the Oscans once held Pompeii and Herculaneum, but were later replaced by Tyrrheni and Pelasgi, who were then replaced by Samnites. Other, later, Greek authors do not borrow the word *Osci* from Latin, but seem to use the Greek term *Opici* to refer explicitly to language, in the same way that Romans use the term *Oscus*. Thus Stephanus of Byzantium (s.v. Γέλα) states that the place name Gela in Sicily is called after the river Gela, since this is prone to ice and the word γέλα means ‘ice’ in the ‘language of the Opici’ and in that of the Sicilians. Since the Latin word for ice is *gelu*, it is possible that the word in Oscan, a sister language to Latin, was similar. Alternatively, it could be the case that Stephanus’ source dated from a time when Greeks could use the term *Opici* to refer to several non-Etruscan peoples of the Italian peninsula, including the Romans.

Roman and Greek historical sources refer to the expansion of Samnites southwards in the fifth and fourth centuries bc, and this causes problems for the nomenclature. Do the terms *Opici* and *Osci* refer to the same people, or did the Osci at some time replace the Opici in southern Italy? This contradiction was already noticed by ancient authors, who attempted to make the two terms refer to

different peoples, and this practice is followed by Radke (1979), while Penney (1988: 732) thinks that the name of the Opici/Osci was transferred from the Opici to the language of the Samnites. In recent years the theory that there are two separate linguistic layers discernible in the epigraphic remains of southern Italy has been endorsed by the German scholar Helmut Rix, who has argued that there is evidence from before the fifth century for a different branch of the Italic language group stretching from the Bay of Naples to the southernmost tip of peninsular Italy, a language which he labels ‘Pre-Samnite’ (see Rix (1997), *ST*, Rix (2003)).

Despite the confidence expressed by some modern scholars, our evidence for the population and the linguistic situation in the southern half of the Italian peninsula in the middle of the first millennium BC is far from clear-cut. As we have seen, the names and identities of the peoples recorded in the ancient geographic traditions are confused and contradictory. As for language, the only explicit external statement we have about the language the Opici spoke from before 300 BC is that given by Eudoxus in the fragment cited above: ‘they mixed languages’. It is not clear exactly what Eudoxus means by this. In much later sources (John Lydus, *Mens.* 1.13 and the scholia on Juvenal 3.207) the verb ὀπ(π)ικίζω/*opicizo* is glossed with the meaning ‘speak without skill or barbarously’, which may refer to imperfect learning of Latin or Greek by the Italians, and it is possible that this is what Eudoxus means by language mixture. Alternatively Eudoxus could be referring to the existence of more than one language in use among the Opici: the ancient Bruttii, inhabitants of what is now Calabria, were later referred to by the Romans as *bilingues* ‘bilingual’ (*Bruttace bilin-gui* ‘a bilingual Bruttian’ – Ennius, *Annales* 477 (Skutsch); on the linguistic situation in ancient Bruttium see Poccetti (1988)).

The epigraphic sources for the languages of southern Italy before the fourth century other than Etruscan are few and mostly very short. Rix (*ST*) prints twenty texts as ‘Pre-Samnite’, to which should be added a further fifth-century vase inscription from Sorrento, published in Russo (2005) and an obscure text in Greek script from Reggio Calabria (Lazzarini (2009)). Of these texts, five could be Etruscan, another nine only consist of name formulae (of which two are tripartite names, four bipartite names, three

a single name), four consist of names and the word 'I am', one is obscure (*ST* Ps 1, despite the explanation given in Rix (1997)), and one, with a simple dedication formula, may be an import from outside of the area (*ST* Ps 3). This leaves just one text of more than seven words, the Tortora stela (*ST* Ps 20, edited in Lazzarini and Poccetti (2001)). Although some words on this text are both legible and identifiable as Italic words, the whole text is obscure. It is an act of faith to declare that all these texts are in a single language, especially since we see divergences between different forms and endings in such a small corpus (thus the word for 'I am' is *esum* in Ps 4 and Ps 5, but *sum* in Ps 7 and Ps 13; the genitive singular ends in *-eis* in Ps 6, Ps 9, Ps 12 and Russo (2005), but *-es* in Ps 4, Ps 5, Ps 10, Ps 13 and Ps 14: all references to *ST*).

On linguistic grounds we therefore have no clear evidence for a single variety which could correspond to the language of the Opici. There were, however, languages of an Italic type spoken in Campania before the southward advance of people speaking the language we now identify as Oscan in the fifth and fourth century BC, and there is also ample evidence for the use of Etruscan. A number of Etruscan inscriptions survive on Campanian vases from the sixth and fifth centuries BC. The lack of evidence for a single 'Opician' language need not be a problem, especially if we interpret the statement of Eudoxus to mean that the Opici spoke more than one language.

Moreover, in general we should be wary of using Greek and Roman ethnographic statements as true pictures of ancient peoples and languages. The Greeks and Romans sometimes present the peoples of Italy as tidy, self-contained packages, but in reality the picture may have been more blurred. Hall (2005) has shown how the Greek ethnological tradition may have other motivations and agendas, and we should be wary of taking Greek labels for the peoples of Magna Graecia on trust. The words of Bradley (2000: 126), applied to central Italy, are also relevant for the south: 'I suspect that this earlier ethnic situation was more fluid than after the Roman conquest . . . It seems to me that the Roman conquest is the first point at which an overarching power was able to impose a more fixed definition on the ethnic groups of Italy.' In conclusion to this section, it would be difficult to link a fourth-century

Greek reference to the Opici with any single people or language of ancient Italy; a later Greek reference to the Opici, particularly in connection with language, might refer to the same language which the Romans knew as *lingua Osca* and which the modern tradition calls Oscan.

The linguistic evidence for Oscan in Sicily: Messina

I shall now examine the surviving evidence for languages brought from Italy to Sicily in ancient times, dealing first with the historical, and then the epigraphic evidence. The earliest mention of movement of peoples from Italy to Sicily in the Greek historical record is in the ethnography at the beginning of Book 6 of Thucydides' history. Thucydides recounts that the town of Messina (modern Messina) was originally called Zancle, and was founded by pirates from the town of Cumae, a Greek colony on the coast of Campania. Thucydides adds that later Zancle was refounded from Rhegium by the tyrant Anaxilas, who renamed the town Messina and settled it with a 'mixed' population. We get more specific information about immigrants from Italy from the Greek historian Diodorus in his account of the conflict between Carthaginians and the tyrant of Syracuse, Dionysius, at the beginning of the fourth century BC. Diodorus makes it clear that Dionysius relies heavily on mercenaries from Campania, and that soldiers from southern Italy also fought on the Carthaginian side (see further Tagliamonte (1994) and Fantasia (2001) for the presence of Italian mercenaries in Sicily from the fifth century). Diodorus explicitly mentions Campanian settlements in Catania (4.68.3), and Leontini (4.78.3) on the east of the island, and Entella in the west (4.61.4). The influx of mercenaries in the early fourth century is also supported by the massive issues of coinage from Syracuse and from the Sicilo-Punic mints at this time, some of which is explicitly identified on legends as money for 'the paymasters' or 'the people of the camp' (Finley (1968: 84), Rutter (2001: 7–8)).

There is onomastic evidence to support the existence of Campanian mercenaries in Sicily at this time. Diodorus (16.69.4) names the tyrant of Catania as *Marcus*, a name transmitted as *Mamercus*

in Plutarch's *Timoleon* (13.1). *Mamercus* is a well-attested name in southern Italy, recorded on a fifth-century vase from Nola in Campania (*ST* Ps 11, a 'Pre-Samnite' text for Rix); a curse tablet from Roccagloriosa in Lucania (*ST* Lu 45); and is also well represented on early Etruscan vase inscriptions from Capua (*ET* Cm 2.9, Cm 2.12, Cm. 2.34; cf. also *mamurce* on *ET* Cm 2.24, Cm 2.36). However, the picture Plutarch presents of Mamercus is that of a fully acculturated Greek speaker, who wrote plays and poems (*Tim.* 31.1), and who was eager to give a speech to the people of Syracuse at his trial (*Tim.* 34.6). Indeed, there is nothing explicit about the different language use of any of the Campanian or other mercenaries in Sicily at this time in the accounts of either Diodorus or Plutarch (who frequently has an interest in recording peculiarities of language use), and it is implicitly assumed that the mercenaries were able to communicate in Greek with their paymasters (Sironen (1995: 188–9)).

The first explicit mention in historical sources of the use of a language that can be identified securely as Oscan in Sicily occurs in Diodorus' account of the later colonization of Messina by a group of mercenaries in 289 BC. According to Diodorus (21.18), mercenaries who had again fought in the pay of the Syracusans against Carthage were on their way back home when they stopped at Messina. They were welcomed there and entertained, but betrayed their hosts, killed them as they slept, and married their wives (see Crawford (2007: 275) for variants of this story in other historians, including the less violent account by Alfius that is preserved in Festus). Diodorus records that they named the city Mamertine, since in their language Mamertos is the name of Ares. This identifies them clearly as Oscan speakers, since the name of the god is *Mamers* in Oscan, as recorded by the lexicographer Festus and on several Oscan inscriptions (*ST* Lu 35 and Hi 5; the derived name of a festival **mamerttia**s is better attested, on Cp 26, Cp 29, Cp 30 and Cp 31).

The epigraphic record for the island offers a little more solid evidence for the presence of Oscan speakers. All of our texts in the Oscan language (discounting a possible Oscan tile-stamp from Lipari, *ST* tMe 3) come from Messina, dating from the third century BC or later. All show Oscan written in Greek letters, as was

also the practice in most of Lucania and Bruttium, and occasionally in Campania. The surviving texts (discussed in Crawford (2006) and edited in *ST* and Crawford *et al.* (2011)) include two copies of the same building inscription, recalling the dedication of a temple to Apollo by the two Oscan *meddices* and the τωφτο Μαμερτινο ‘Mamertine people’ (*ST* Me 1 and Me 2); the top of an altar with the name of the donor on it, probably replacing an earlier Greek inscription (*ST* Me 4); the record of a gift to Apollo (*ST* Me 5); and a few tile stamps and a couple of coin issues among an overwhelming preponderance of Greek coin issues (Crawford (2006: 523)).

The monumental inscriptions from Messana continue to use magistrates’ titles and onomastic formulae akin to those found in Oscan texts from Italy, but it is possible that the text *ST* Me 5, read by Crawford (2006: 524) as [μαρ]ας στεννηις [α]πελλουνηις ‘Maras son of Stennis, [has given the gift. It is] of Apollo’, shows a switch to a Greek style of name, with just the individual’s *praenomen* followed by that of his father in the genitive, rather than the normal practice of using the *gentilicium* (La Regina (2002: 68–9)). There may also be Greek influence in the use of the genitive, to note that the object is now in the possession of the god, rather than the dative, which is normal in Oscan inscriptions (compare e.g. *IG* XIV 597, a silver ingot of Sicilian provenance, and *IG* XIV 647, a stela from Metaponto, for a parallel for donor’s name in nominative and god’s name in the genitive, in this case with the verb ‘I am’ written in).

Oscan does not seem to remain in use for very long in Messana. The Entella tablets, originating in the west of the island, record a benefactor from Messana with an Oscan name: Μινατος Κορουιος Μαμερτινος (in Tablet A1 in the edition of Porciani (2001), V in earlier editions). This appears to be a Greek rendering of what would be in Oscan **Minaz Kúrviis** (or **Kúrúviis**; the *gentilicium* is not attested in Oscan), with retention of the Oscan system of *praenomen* and *gentilicium*, rather than the Greek system of individual name followed by the father’s name. The retention of the Oscan naming practice does not necessarily entail that the bearer of the name spoke Oscan, but the evidence of the inscription Me 5, where Oscan is used even after the original naming practice has

been lost, suggests that Μινάτος Κορονίος was indeed an Oscan speaker. Unfortunately, the dating of the inscriptions from Messina is uncertain. With the Entella tablet we are on slightly stronger ground: Loomis (1994: 138–9) advances strong arguments for a mid-third-century date for Tablet A1 (written on the same day as Tablets A2 and A3), and if he is right, we can assume that Oscan continued to be spoken for forty years after the Mamertine conquest. However, Greek inscriptions are found from Messina before the Roman period (Crawford (2006: 524)), and there is no secure evidence for written or indeed spoken Oscan surviving after 200 BC.

Italian names from Entella

In the previous section we have already mentioned the presence of an Oscan name among the Greek documents associated with Entella, in western Sicily, which first became known to scholars in the 1970s and 1980s. Since that date, the eight genuine bronze tablets have been extensively studied, edited and re-edited (see in particular Loomis (1994), Porciani (2001) and the other articles in Ampolo (2001)). The Entella texts date most probably to the middle of the third century, and so give a precious insight into this period of Sicilian history. Of interest to us here is the presence of several Italian names in the documents, a subject that has only previously been examined in detail by Lejeune (1982) and Garozzo (2001a). As at Messina, the presence of Italians at Entella can be explained through Campanian mercenaries who settled in the island; if we follow the account of Diodorus Siculus (14.9), we can date their settlement at Entella to the end of the fifth century BC.

Previous discussions of the onomastic material at Entella have assumed without question that the names are Oscan, and that they provide evidence for Oscan-speaking mercenaries in Sicily from the fifth century BC. In what follows, I hope to show that this assumption is not well-founded. Before discussing the origin of the names at Entella, however, it will be necessary to set out the evidence more fully. Lejeune (1982: 793) grouped the names from

Entella into different classes, including the following (Lejeune and editors add accents and breathings, and ‘correct’ some forms of the names, which I have not done here):

- (1) A fully Oscan name, held by a Mamertine (i.e. a resident at Messina), who is a benefactor of Entella. This name, discussed above, is adapted to Greek phonology and inflectional endings: Μινάτος Κορούιος.
- (2) Combinations of a Hellenized form of an Oscan praenomen with the genitive of the father’s name, also a Hellenized form of an Oscan *praenomen*. This is an adaption of the Oscan onomastic formula to the Greek type, as also in the Messina inscription *ST Me 5*:
Γναίος Οππίου
Κίπτος Σωίου
- (3) Combination of a Greek first name, with a Hellenized form of an Oscan name as the father’s name:

Λεύκιος Πακκίου
Λεύκιος Καίσιου
Θεόδωρος Μάμου
Ἀρτεμίδωρος Εἰέλου

Lejeune notes the ample parallels in other texts for the names Γναίος (Oscan **gnaivs**; see Rix in *ST* 138–46 for details of the attestations of these names, and Garozzo (2001a) for attestations of the names in Greek sources), Οππίος (Oscan **úppiis**) and Πακκίος (Oscan **pakis**), and points out that Λεύκιος is probably a cover-name for Oscan **lúvkis**. Lejeune cannot match the names Εἰελος, Καίσιος, Κίπτος, Μάμος or Σωίος directly with Oscan names, but sees them as *praenomina* which are not attested in our records, but which were the bases for attested Oscan *nomina gentilicia*. Thus, for example, the names Καίσιος and Κίπτος at Entella represent the survival of Oscan *praenomina* that fell out of use elsewhere in the Oscan-speaking world, but from which derived names are attested, respectively the gens names **kaísilli-** or *caisidis* (*ST Lu 51*, also widely attested in Latin epigraphy as *Caesidius*) and **kíipiis**. It is possible that a further name should be added to the list, also in Class (3), if the name Δεκίος, who occurs as the father of Διόνυσος on the one tablet from Nakone, a neighbouring city to Entella (Nakone A in Porciani (2001), earlier labelled Tablet III), is to be connected to the Oscan *praenomen* **dekis** (Tagliamonte (1994: 207)).

Lejeune's hypothesis of the Oscan origin of the names at Entella cannot be disproved, but it is not the only explanation. Some of the name elements occur not just in Oscan, but also in other languages attested in Italy. Below I give the names in alphabetic order, giving indications of their attestation in the languages of Italy.

Γναίος also occurs as Latin *Gnae(u)s* and Etruscan *cnaive*. The name *cnaive* appears on Campanian vase inscriptions in Etruscan from the late sixth and early fifth century (*ET* Cm 2.14, Cm 2.49 and Cm 2.61), where it may have been borrowed, and it appears together with *lucce* on a fifth-century Campanian vase from Nola which is labelled as 'Pre-Samnite' in *ST* (Ps 12: *lucvies cnaiviies sum* 'I belong to Lucius son of Gnaeus').

Δεκίος occurs primarily on Oscan inscriptions from Campania (**dekis**), as well as on a second-century BC inscription from Delos (Δεκκίου, *IDélos* 1417 AII 139–41). The Latin form *Decius* is a borrowing from Oscan.

Καίσιος is more widely attested outside of the Oscan-speaking area, in southern Etruria. It can be directly compared to attested *praenomina*: Latin *Kaeso*, Faliscan *Caisio*, and Etruscan *Kaisie* (see Bakkum (2009: 240) and Bourdin and Crouzet (2009: 458–60); note that the only Oscan example of this *praenomen* cited is the one from the Entella tablets). Bourdin and Crouzet (2009) show that the same name is also attested in Punic inscriptions from Carthage, probably associated with mercenaries or traders from Italy who settled in Carthage.

Κίπτος is not attested as a *praenomen* in Oscan or any other language of Italy. As mentioned above, Lejeune linked Κίπτος with the Oscan gens name **kípiís**, attested once at Pompeii (*ST* Po 42). It may be possible that the name is connected with the archaic Etruscan *praenomen* *cupe* (also written *qupe*), which occurs seven times on early Campanian vase inscriptions, and perhaps even with the recently discovered Sicel name Ψυπεί (Agostiniani (2009: 55)). For the alternation between *kup-* and *kip-*, compare the words for 'good' and 'lie' in the Sabellian languages, the first of which has variants *ciprum* ('Sabine', in a Varronian gloss), *cuprar* (Umbrian), **kuprí** (South Picene; see Untermann (2000: 405) for the forms), and the second of which occurs as **qumat** in South Picene but *cibat* in Marrucian (Untermann (2000: 418)). Since the *kip-* forms,

ciprum and *cibat*, are attested in central Italic languages, it may be possible to explain the name Κίπτος through an origin from central rather than southern Italic varieties.

Λεύκιος has corresponding name forms widely attested in early Latin (*Lucius*, earlier *Loucius*) and in other Sabellian languages (see Bakum (2009: 245)). The name is borrowed into Etruscan inscriptions from southern Etruria and Campania (as *lucce* or *lucie*).

Μαμος appears to be the name which acts as the base for Oscan *gentilicium* **maamiis** (*ST* Cm 47 and Po 55), but the *praenomen* *mama* occurs in early Faliscan inscriptions (Bakum (2009: 219); note that there are no good reasons for connecting the obscure Etruscan word *mama* (*ET* OA 2.58), despite Bakum's claim that the name is of Etruscan origin. Note also the name recorded at Diodorus Siculus 22.7.2, Μαμεύς, the father of Thoenon, who overthrew Hicetas of Syracuse in the third century (Tagliamonte (1994: 202)).

Οππιος is attested only in Oscan texts from southern Italy, and not attested in Etruscan or other Italic languages.

Πακκιος is well attested in Oscan and other Sabellian languages, and where it occurs in Latin or Faliscan texts it seems to reflect Sabellian influence (Bakum (2009: 247)). However, *pacieis* (genitive) appears on a fifth-century Campanian vase written in Etruscan script, which is labelled as 'Pre-Samnite' by Rix (*ST* Ps).

Σωιος and Ειελος are names for which the only good comparanda are those given by Lejeune: the Oscan *gentilicium* *soies*, uniquely attested on a bronze strip from Lucania (*ST* Lu 52) – the name may be connected to the Latin gens name *Suius* recorded at Capua (Crawford (2010: 277)); and the Latin *gentilicium* *Heioleius*, attested first as a magistrate's name from Capua in an inscription of the late second century BC that also features other Latinized Oscan names (*CIL* I² 675, note also *Heiulius* at *CIL* I² 1491).

Although some of the names at Entella are clearly associated with speakers of Oscan, it would be a mistake to assume that this means that all the names are from an Oscan milieu. The names Καισιος, Μαμος and possibly also Κίπτος are better associated with central Italy than with specifically Oscan-speaking areas. Other names, Γναιος, Λεύκιος and Πακκιος, do have connections with

Oscan speakers, but they are also found in Campania before the presence of Samnites in the area, and may be older Italic names. The parallel of Bourdin and Crouzet's work (Bourdin and Crouzet (2009)) on Italian onomastic elements attested in Punic inscriptions from Carthage is here instructive. A number of names of Italic origin are found, including the following (given here in Latin form for ease of identification): *Accius*, *Caesius*, *Catius/Cottius*, *Metellus/Mutilus* etc., *Pacius*, *Stenius* and *Verius/Virrius*. The names *Pacius* and *Stenius* are usually associated with Oscan speakers, but other names, such as *Accius* and *Caesius*, are more frequently connected with speakers of other languages of Italy. Bourdin and Crouzet (2009) are content to suppose that Italians from a range of different Italian origins ended up at Carthage, whether from a mercenary or mercantile background. Although Diodorus explicitly mentions Campanians as the settlers of Entella (14.9.9), we cannot be entirely confident that all the mercenaries would have come from a single linguistic community at this date, nor that this community should be identified as Oscan.

The names on the Entella tablets therefore cannot be taken as evidence that there was an Oscan-speaking community at Entella, but only that some of the onomastic material has its best counterparts in surviving evidence from Oscan-speaking areas of Italy. If we had a better knowledge of the onomastics of earlier Italic languages in Campania, before the advance of the Oscan speakers, we might see these names in a different light. There is certainly nothing distinctly Oscan about the Greek communities of Entella and Nakone. The names and titles of the magistrates, the dating systems, and the language of the Entella decrees are all Greek, as is the coinage, and show no influence from Oscan institutions or the Oscan language. We have no reason to believe that Oscan was ever in any quasi-official or religious use at Entella, corresponding to its use in Messina. It is possible that the mercenaries settled in Entella spoke Oscan among themselves, but it is also possible that they spoke different Italic languages (or even non-Italic languages) of Italy, and that they used Greek as a *lingua franca*. Indeed, given the evidence for linguistic diversity in Campania and southern Italy in the fifth century BC, it must be reckoned that a linguistically unified group of mercenaries at this time is less likely.

The comparison with the recently published epigraphic evidence from Carthage is again instructive. At Carthage there is no 'native' epigraphy, but rather names left by Italians from all parts of the peninsula, written in epitaphs in the Punic language and script. This suggests that at Carthage mercenaries who served with the Carthaginians and their descendants adapted to Punic, although retaining Italian names. It seems plausible that the mercenaries who were settled in Entella were from similarly diverse backgrounds, and behaved in the same way.

Conclusions

The epigraphic evidence therefore points to Messina as a unique case of linguistic conservatism among Italian mercenaries in Sicily. It is only with the Mamertines that our sources indicate a cultural or linguistic unity, and only the Mamertines who self-identify with a name for themselves, which is proclaimed to others (Orioles (1992: 333), Fantasia (2001: 54)); note that Diodorus' incorrect statement that they named the city of Messina 'Mamertine' may in fact be a garbled account of their own designation of themselves as $\tau\omega\phi\tau\omicron$ $\mu\alpha\mu\epsilon\rho\tau\iota\nu\omicron$ 'Mamertine people', as preserved on the building inscription discussed above. However, even the Mamertines' sense of self-identity could not overcome the commercial and political advantages of speaking Greek (or even Latin, from the third century BC onwards) in Sicily, and it appears that Oscan did not remain in use even in Messina into the Roman period. The appearance of individuals with Latinized Oscan names in Cicero's *Verrines*, such as P. Gaius (himself from Compsa in Hirpinia in mainland Italy), Sthenius from Thermae Himeraeae, the Cottii from Tauromenium (Sironen (1995: 189)), need not lead us to think that they had only recently switched to speaking in Latin; many of the peoples under Roman rule retained local names long after they stopped using their native tongue.

So what are we to make of the picture presented in Plato's eighth letter, of a threatening tide of Opici, on the point of pushing Greek out of Sicily? The emphasis given to the presence of the Opici in Sicily in Plato's epistle has doubtless contributed to the belief

among modern scholars that the Italian names in the Entella tablets are Oscan names. However, as we have seen, there seems to be little reason to attribute a uniquely Oscan origin to these names, rather than deriving them from a mixture of different peoples from all over central and southern Italy: Etruscans, Faliscans and speakers of other Sabellian languages as well as Oscan (including the early Campanian varieties subsumed under the catch-all label of 'Pre-Samnite'). We have consequently no clear reasons to think that in the mid-fourth century there was a single language spoken by the Italian mercenaries, nor that it threatened the status of Greek on the island.

As discussed in the opening section above, doubts over the authenticity of Plato's eighth letter have been growing in recent years. If the epistle is indeed not by Plato, but stems from a later age, it becomes easier to understand the section concerning the Opici. The remarks about the threat to the survival of Greek from the language of the Opici seem to make better sense in a context later than the fourth century for several reasons.

Firstly, the use of the term *Opici* is noteworthy. Other Greek historians do not use this term to describe the mercenaries in Sicily, generally opting for the term 'Campanian' with reference to the fourth century, or 'Mamertine' with reference to the third (e.g. the passages in Diodorus cited above). Coin legends from Entella and Nakone occur with the legend ΚΑΜΠΑΝΩΝ 'of the Campanians' (Sironen (1995: 192)), but no coin legends in Sicily use the term Ὀπικοί. So why does the eighth letter use the label *Opici*? The answer may be that it is in the context of a discussion about language, replicating the division of terms in Latin writers between *Osci* for comments concerning language and *Campani* or similar for discussion of peoples. Such a use would be out of line with Greek practice in the fourth century, but understandable at a much later date.

Secondly, it appears that the author of the Platonic letter is confusing or projecting back to the fourth century BC a situation of the third century BC, when a band of self-defined Oscan speakers took control of Messana. The Mamertines were notorious in the accounts of the ancient historians for their fighting prowess; Plutarch (*Pyrrhus* 23–4) records that they had sufficient power to

force the Greeks to give them tribute, and that in battle they were a match even for Pyrrhus and his armies. It is plausible that the author of the eighth letter was anticipating these later developments in his concocted pastiche of Sicilian history. As it is, there is nothing in the documentary or historical record to suggest that the predominance of Greek in Sicily was ever under serious threat from an Italian language before the advent of Roman power.

CHAPTER 5

TRACES OF LANGUAGE CONTACT IN SICILIAN ONOMASTICS

Evidence from the Great Curse of Selinous

Gerhard Meiser

Introduction

From the middle of the eighth century BC the Greeks began to settle in the western Mediterranean. Among the first colonies were Pithekoussa, and, later, Cumae in Italy and Naxos on the isle of Sicily. From the Greek point of view, the colonization processes were the same. But the consequences of colonization were totally different in the two areas: in Italy, the Greeks encountered the highly developed culture of the Etruscans, who were eager to adopt the achievements of the new civilization, but who retained their cultural and political independence until Etruria was defeated by the Romans. One of the most precious gifts (from our point of view) was the Greek alphabet, quickly adopted by the Etruscans and passed on to nearly all the peoples of Italy up to the southern slopes of the Alps. Thus the alphabetization of nearly the whole peninsula, including the Padanian plain, was already complete in the sixth century BC, and the ‘Italic process of adaptation’ resulted in an indigenous epigraphic tradition of more than seven hundred years, from the earliest inscription from Tarquinia,¹ dating from the end of the eighth century BC, down to the last Oscan inscriptions on the walls of Pompeii – painted, one might say, the evening before the great eruption of Vesuvius (AD 79).

In Sicily, on the other hand, things developed quite differently. The indigenous peoples appear only to have had a choice to be marginalized or to assimilate to the Greek way of life. But for two hundred years, during the sixth and fifth centuries, there was a

¹ CIE 10159, ET Ta 3.1 *mi velelθus kacriqu numesiesi putes kraitiles θis putes* (c.700 BC).

native epigraphic tradition, and indigenous names occur during the same period in archaic Greek inscriptions. The aim of this paper is to describe the integration of indigenous onomastics into the Greek model and to investigate the linguistic background – what can we infer from the onomastic evidence that is preserved in a Greek context about the underlying language stratum?

It is true that non-Greek names appear very seldom in archaic Greek inscriptions, even though sometimes an indigenous individual may be hidden behind a Greek name.² There is only one text-type that appears to go beyond the linguistic and social limitations of most of Greek epigraphy, which is concerned only with Greek issues: curse texts. These preserve a number of non-Hellenic names. At the moment we know at least a dozen such texts, mainly from Selinous and Camarina, but also from Gela, Terravecchia di Cuti and Agrigento.³

Onomastics and the Great Curse of Selinous

The most interesting of these inscriptions, with regard to archaic onomastics, is the Great Curse of Selinous (*IGDS* I 38). It contains an execration against more than twenty persons, bearing mostly non-Greek names (superscript numbers in square brackets identify individual names in both the text and the following commentary). The basic formula is καταγράφω παρ τὸν Ἁγνὰν θεόν – ‘I consign to the holy Goddess . . .’:⁴

IGDS I 38

[A]πελον τὸν Λυκίνω^[1] {κα} καταγράφῃ παρ τὰν ἡαγνὰν
[θ]εὸν, τὰν ψυχὰν αὐτῷ καὶ τὰν δύνασιν, καὶ Λυκῖνον

² Cf. Curbera (1999: 170): ‘La proporzione di nomi non greci è bassa (c. 35), ma non molto diversa da quella che si riscontra in altri tipi di iscrizioni, ad eccezione dei cataloghi di magistrati. Tuttavia ellenismo onomastico ed ellenismo etnico non vanno confusi: la popolazione indigena, probabilmente, adoperò i nomi più prestigiosi dei greci, per cui non siamo in condizione di affermare che l’uso di *defixiones* rimase loro estraneo.’

³ Selinous: *IGDS* I 29–40, *ISic.MG* I 65–8; Camarina: *IGDS* I 118–24; Gela: *IGDS* I 134b; Terravecchia di Cuti: *IGDS* I 176; Agrigento *IGDS* I 180. Considerably later is the inscription *IGDS* I 195 from Morgantina (second/first century BC). Non-Hellenic names are exhibited by *IGDS* I 32, 34–36, 38–40, 118–122, 134b, 176.

⁴ Cf. Calder (1963: 167): ‘. . . probably . . . the Pasikrateia of *IG* XIV 268.5–6, apparently the Selinuntine equivalent of Persephone’.

τὸν Χαλῶ *ἡγιόν*^[2] καὶ τὸν ἀδελφεὸν αὐτοῦ· καὶ αὐτὸν
 παρ τᾶν *ἡαγνᾶν* θεὸν τὸν Νανερῶτον Χαλῶ *ἡγιόν*^[3],
 καὶ [.]οτυλὸν τὸν Ταμιραντῶς^[4] καὶ τὸς *ἡυιῶς*, καὶ Σαριν^[5] 5
 καὶ Ἀπελον^[6] καὶ Ῥῶμιν τὸν Καλιῖδ{ν}^[7] παρ τᾶν *ἡαγνᾶ*<ν> θε-
 ὄν καὶ τὸς *ἡυιῶς* καὶ Σαριν τὸν Πυ(ρ)ρίνῳ^[8] καὶ Πύ(ρ)ρον^[9].
 τὸν Πύ(ρ)ρον^[9] παρ τᾶν *ἡαγνᾶν* θεὸν καὶ τὸς Ροτυ-
 λῶ *ἡυιῶς* τῷ Πύ(ρ)ρῳ^[10] παρ τᾶν *ἡαγνᾶν* θεὸν καὶ
 δύνασιν καὶ γλῶσσας· Πλακίταν τὸν Ναννελαῖδ^[11] 10
 καὶ Χαλὸν τὸν Πυκελεῖ<ῶ>^[12], ἐγὼ τᾶν ψυχᾶν καταγρά-
 φῶ παρ τᾶν *ἡαγνᾶν* θεὸν καὶ δύνασιν αὐτῶ[ν].
 Καδοσιν τὸν Ματυλαῖδ^[13] καὶ Ἑκοτιν τὸν Μαγῶν.<ος>^[14]
 ἐγκαταγρά[ο]φῶ παρ τᾶν *ἡαγνᾶν* θεὸν τᾶ<ν> ψυχᾶν
 αὐτῶν· τὸν Φο<ί>νικος *ἡυιὸν* τῷ Καλιῖδ^[15] καταγράφῶ 15
 παρ τᾶν *ἡαγνᾶν* θεόν. // Ἀπελὸς Λυκίνῳ^[16], Λυκίνος Πύρ(ρ)ῳ^[17],
 Ναν(ν)ελαῖος^[18], Ἑφοτὶς Μαγῶνος^[19], Χαλὸς Πυκελεῖδ{ν}^[20], Ῥῶμις Καί-
 ιῶ{ν}^[21], Ἀπελὸς *ἡο* Φοῖνιφος^[22], Τιτελὸς Φοῖνιφος^[23], Ἄτος Νανεριάδ^[24],
 Τιτελὸς Ναν(ν)ελαῖδ{ν}^[25], Σαρις Ῥῶμιος^[26].

Peculiar to this inscription is the fact that the persons in the text are not only enumerated by mentioning their own names, but mostly also by their father's name, doubtless with the purpose of a better identification of the persons to be cursed. William Calder III tried to establish the family relationships between the individuals mentioned in the text:⁵

- (A) Πυκελεῖος^[20] father of Χαλὸς^[2.3.20], father of Λυκίνος^[1.2] (himself father of Ἀπελὸς^[1.16] and of Νανερῶτος^[3.24?] – himself father of Ἄτος^[24?])
- (B) Ταμιρας^[4], father of [Ρ]οτυλὸς^[4.10]⁶, himself father of Σαρις^[5] and Ἀπελὸς^[6]
- (C) Καλιῖος^[7.21], father of Ῥῶμις^[7.21.26], himself father of Σαρις^[8.26] and Πύρ(ρ)ος^[9]
- (D) Ναννελαῖος^[18.25], father of Τιτελὸς^[25]
- (E) Ματυλαῖος^[13], father of Καδοσις^[13]
- (F) Μαγῶν^[14.19], father of Ἑκοτὶς^[14.19]
- (G) Καίλιος^[15], father of Φοῖνιξ^[15.22.23], himself father of Ἀπελὸς^[22] and Τιτελὸς^[23].

⁵ Calder (1963: 170). Some points remain unclear, e.g. the relationship of Πλακίτας Ναν(ν)ελαῖος^[11].

⁶ As Calder reads in l. 5 instead of Βοτυλὸν.

As to the combination of a Greek and a non-Hellenic name within a couple of son and father, we can observe that there are attested all four possibilities:

- (1) Son and father both have Greek names (one, perhaps two):
Λυκῖνος Πύ(ρ)ρῶ^[17] and perhaps Πύρρον τῷ Πύρ(ρ)ῶ in lines 7–8, if we follow an emendation by L. Jeffery.⁷
- (2) Son and father both have non-Greek names (in total eleven):
Ναυεροτον Χαλῶ *ἡυιόν*^[3], [.]οτυλον τὸν Ταμιραντος^[4], Ρῶμιν τὸν Καίλιδ{ν}^[7=21], Χαλον τὸν Πυκελείδ^[12], Καδοσιν τὸν Ματυλαῖδ^[13], Ἐκοτιν τὸν Μαγῶνος^[14=19], Χαλος Πυκελείδ{ν}^[20], Ρῶμις Καίλιδ^[21], Ἄτος Ναυεριάδᾱ^[24], Τιτελος Ναυ(ν)ελαῖδ^[25], Σαρις Ρῶμιος^[26].
- (3) The son has a Greek name, the father a non-Greek one (in total three):
Λυκῖνον τὸν Χαλῶ *ἡυιόν*^[2], Πλακίταν τὸν Ναννελαῖδ^[11], Φο<ί>νικος *ἡυιόν* τῷ Καίλιδ^[15].
- (4) The son has a non-Greek name, the father a Greek one (in total five):
Ἄπελον τὸν Λυκῖνῶ^[1], Σαριν τὸν Πυ(ρ)ρίνῶ^[8], τῷ Ροτυλῶ *ἡυιῶς* τῷ Πύ(ρ)ρῶ^[10], Ἄπελος *ἡο* Φοίνιφος^[22], Τιτελος Φοίνιφος^[23].

Immediately it becomes clear – even if Calder’s reconstruction of the relationships may not be correct in all details – that we are involved in a fundamentally non-Greek environment. Indeed it is very doubtful that Πύρ(ρ)ον τὸν Πύρ(ρ)ίνῶ^[9] and Λυκῖνος Πύρ(ρ)ῶ^[17] (cf. (1)) are native Greeks; rather Πύρ(ρ)ος is the brother of Σαριν τὸν Πυρ(ρ)ίνῶ^[8]. Their attachment to their own, non-Greek tradition and to its names seems to be very strong; in any case there is no unidirectional tendency within these families to abolish the old, non-Greek names and to adopt Greek names. In five cases the father has a Greek name, but he has given a non-Greek one to his son (see (4)); although Ἄπελος^[22] and Τιτελος^[23] are also brothers.

Only in three cases does the son bear a Greek name and the father a non-Hellenic one – in accordance with the general tendency towards cultural assimilation. Naturally, our text does not allow us to draw any further conclusions as to the sociological situation at

⁷ See apparatus criticus *ad IGDS* I 38.

Selinous at the beginning of the fifth century. It is just a snapshot, focusing on a single, rather unimportant event – probably a trial, as the curse of the tongues in line 10 leads us to assume. However, this short text contains a good deal of linguistic information which has not yet been wholly explored, especially with regard to language contact, i.e. the linguistic interference between Greek and another language. But what is the other language, or languages, under consideration?

Searching for linguistic affiliations

In his 1972 article Olivier Masson attempted to classify the names according to the language of their origin;⁸ Renato Arena in the first volume of his edition of *Iscrizioni greche arcaiche di Sicilia e Magna Grecia* (1989) repeats the main conclusions of Masson's publication. The French scholar classifies the names as follows:

Greek:	Λυκῖνος, Πύρρος, Πυρρῖνος, Φοῖνιξ, Πλακίτας (and so Arena)
Semitic:	Μαγδὼν (and so Arena)
Sicel:	Ἀπελος, Τιτελος (and so Arena)
Etruscan-Italic:	Ῥοτυλος, [.]οτυλος, Καίλιος, Ματυλαίος, Ῥυκελείος, Ῥῶμις
Hybrid:	Ναυεροτος, Ναυεριάδας
Unclear:	Ἑκοτις/Ἑφοτις, Κάδοσις, Σαρίς, Χαλος, Ἄτος, Ταμίρας, Ναυ(ν)ελαιος.

The classification in Arena (1989: 64) of Masson's last three groups does not differ much:⁹

'siculici-italici?':	Ῥοτυλος, [.]οτυλος, Καίλιος, Ματυλαίος, Ρυκελείος, Ῥῶμις
'non manifestamente greci':	Ναυεριάδας, Χαλος, Ἄτος
'Asiatic':	Ταμίρας, Ναυ(ν)ελαιος
'inclassificabili':	Ἑκοτις / Ἑφοτις, Κάδοσις, Σάρις.

⁸ Masson (1972: 385–7).

⁹ As to Τιτελος and Βοτυλος see, however, Arena (2003: 58): 'Elymian origin'. See too next section.

However, not all of these proposals are convincing. First of all, the attribution of a concrete name to a Sicel layer seems to me a mirage. Our knowledge of Sicel onomastics is very meagre, and there is no proof whatsoever that these names are really of Sicel origin, if we understand by ‘Sicel’ one of the three indigenous language strata of Sicily: Sicel, Sicanian and Elymian. Masson’s and Arena’s main argument for such a classification is presumably the fact that all these names have parallels or quasi-parallels in Italic, being attested either directly by Sabellian or indirectly by Etruscan inscriptions. All these names are formed with the suffix *-lo-*, apparently a feature which is typical for Italic and hence for Sicel names.¹⁰

Ἀπελος	cf. Latin <i>Apellius</i>
Καιλιος	cf. Oscan Kaíl (<i>ST Fr</i> 1)
Ματυλαίος	cf. * <i>Matulo-</i> , derivation base of the Etruscan gentilicium <i>matulna-s</i> (gen. sg., <i>ET Ta</i> 1.169) ¹¹
Πυκελεις	cf. Oscan Pukalatúi (Cippus Abellanus, <i>ST Cm</i> 1 A4)
Τιτελος	cf. Sabellian * <i>Titelos/Titela</i> , attested by Etruscan <i>titele</i> (< Sabellian * <i>Titelos</i>) in <i>titeles</i> (<i>ET Cr</i> 2.98, <i>OA</i> 2.32, <i>-es Ru</i> 2.17, all gen. sg.), <i>titela</i> (* <i>Titela</i>) in <i>titelas</i> (<i>Cr</i> 2.9, gen. sg.)

A person bearing a name that we can ascribe to a definite language is not necessarily a speaker of this language. Thus, an Italic or ‘Sicel’ name does not implicate an Italic or Sicel ethnicity of its bearer. It is, however, strange that the possibility of an Elymian origin of at least some of the names attested in the curse inscription *IGDS* I 38 has not been taken into consideration.¹²

Evidence for Elymian affiliation

The Elymian area is quite close to Selinous, and the stem of one of the names is directly attested in Elymian: to Τιτελος in our text

¹⁰ The only exception is Πῶμις, also classified as ‘Italic’ by Masson and Arena, but without any counterpart in an Italic language.

¹¹ Cf. also Schulze (1904: 275): ‘In Veleia gibt es . . . einen fundus Matellianus’.

¹² Cf. however Arena (2003: no. 9).

corresponds Τιτελαι in *IAS* 322. Although we cannot exclude an Italic origin etymologically, the onomastic base **titelo-* seems to be deeply rooted in Elymian onomastics. Τιτελαι is not only directly attested at Segesta in the archaic era, but even later on, during the Hellenistic period, the Hellenized form Τιττελος occurs in three inscriptions from Segesta – an extraordinary fact, compared with the very scarce documentation of indigenous names after the archaic period in the whole of Sicily:

IGDS I 213

Διόδωρος Τιττελου Ἀππειραιος
τὰν ἀδελφὰν αὐτοῦτα
Μινύραν Ἀρτέμωνος ἱερατεύουσαν
Ἀφροδίται Οὐρανίαι

Nenci (2000)¹³

Ἀσκληπτος Διοδώρου Ταυρέας
ἐπιστάτας
Βίβακος Τιττέλου Ποσθαῖος
ἀρχιτεκτόνησε

IGDS I 216

ἱεροναμονεύων
Τιττελος Ἀρτεμιδώρου[υ]

Moreover, the available evidence has increased since the studies of Masson and Arena, and Τιτελος is not the only name in *IGDS* I 38 which can be identified as (possibly) of Elymian origin. Other corresponding names in *IGDS* I 38 are Ἄτος^[24] ~ *Atai* (*IAS* 319, dat. sg.), Σαρις/Σαριν^[5.8.26] ~ Σαρι[(*IAS* 321, 323), and maybe also Πυκελειῶ^[20] (gen. sg.) ~]Πυκε[(*IAS* 267). Even Ζοξτα, which is attested in the curse inscription *IGDS* I 36 from Selinous, can be compared with Ζυσγα (*IAS* 304), if we assume that the Elymian consonant cluster *-sg-*, which is unusual in the Greek language, is rendered by <ξ> in this text. This orthography may seem to be odd, but it is not without parallels; a small *olpe* from Fratte di Salerno offers the following text:¹⁴ Ἀπολλόδορος Ξύλλας ἔραται. φολκας ἀπύγιζε Ἀπολλόδορον.

¹³ From the *bouleuterion* (beginning of the third century BC).

¹⁴ See Pontrandolfo (1987).

The first editor Pontrandolfo (1987: 59) comments: ‘Ξύλλα equivale verosimilmente a Σκύλλα’. And at least as concerns word formation, [.]οτυλον^[4] on *IGDS* I 38 corresponds to βοτυλαι (*IAS* 317). According to W. Calder, in *IGDS* I 38 the name originally was written Βοτυλος, and afterwards corrected to Ποτυλος.¹⁵ But if the reading Βοτυλος is to be maintained, again there would be a correspondence between a name of *IGDS* I 38 and another of the Elymian inscriptions.¹⁶ In 1997 Giuseppe Nenci published an inscription from a necropolis of the Elymian city of Entella:¹⁷]ο τῷ Νάνῳ εἰμί ‘I belong to X, (the son) of Nanos’. A diminutive derived from *Nanos* by the suffix *-elo-* (like **titelo-* from Italic **tito-*, cf. Latin *Titus*) would result in **nanelo-* – and this seems to be the base of Ναν(ν)ελαιος^[11.18.25] in *IGDS* I 38. But what is the function of the suffix *-aios*? And in what morphological paradigm should we include it?

The -aios suffix: a clue for the Elymian affiliation?

The same suffix *-aios* occurs also in other names – once more in our inscription *IGDS* I 38, with Ματυλαιος^[13]. A variant of *-aios* seems to be attested as the suffix *-eios* in Πυκελειῶ^[20] in *IGDS* I 38 and in Ιχαιον Μαμμαρειῶ in *IGDS* I 36. But the suffix is attested also in the Hellenistic inscriptions from Segesta cited above: Διόδωρος Τιττελου Ἀππειραιος and Βίβακος Τιττέλου Ποσθαῖος. As to Ἀππειραιος, Dubois *ad IGDS* I 213 comments:

Le patronyme du dédicant est typiquement sicilien . . . ; il doit en être de même pour le surnom Ἀππειραιος que je ne crois pas légitime de mettre en rapport avec le nom dorien de l’Épire, Ἀπειρος, comme le fait G. Alessio . . .

Ποσθαῖος also fits very well into the (Elymian) ‘*aios*-model’, as we shall see below. However, it can be explained without any

¹⁵ He identifies name and person with Ποτυλος^[10] from ll. 8–9.

¹⁶ At least if we read the Elymian ‘reverse ny’ as , according to the value it has e.g. at Selinous, and not as an <N>, as Marchesini (2003) has suggested.

¹⁷ Nenci (1997: 1188–9): ‘Il pensiero vola alla testimonianza aristotelica dalla Μοσσολιτῶν πολιτεία in *Ateneo* 12.576: Νάνος è il re indigeno della zona che accoglie benevolmente come ξένος il focese *Euxenos* (*nomen est omen*), fondatore di Massalia. Ma Ναννέλαιος ricorre ben tre volte nella celebre laminetta plumbea . . . coeva (475–450 a. Cr.) [i.e. *IGDS* I 38] con la nostra iscrizione . . .’.

problems within the framework of Greek morphology: Ποσθαῖος may be understood as ‘equipped with a πόσθη [‘penis’]’. All but one of the seven examples of names containing the suffix *-aios/-eios* (if we do not count Ποσθαῖος) appear in the function of the patronymic or *gentilicium*.¹⁸ Indeed, Calder (1963: 169) takes Ναυ(ν)ελαιος as a patronymic adjective (‘the adjective equals the genitive of the father’) and, referring to a comment of Basil L. Gildersleeve in his edition of Pindar, he explains this feature as ‘an example of the dialectal preference of *-ios* instead of the genitive of the father’.¹⁹ Gildersleeve, for his part, cites examples ὦ Κρόνιε παῖ (Pi. O. 2.13), Ποσειδάωνιον . . . Κτέατον (Pi. O. 10.26–7), Ξενάρκειον . . . ὕιόν (Pi. Pyt. 8.19–20).²⁰ But in such cases the patronymic adjective suffix is *-ios*, not *-aios*. Besides, in our text all Greek names indicating the father of a person are given in the genitive: Λυκίνω^[1], Πυρρίνω^[8], Πύρ(ρ)ω^[10], Φοίνικος^[22,23]. The suffixes *-aios/-eios*, on the other hand, are obviously restricted to ‘foreign’, non-Greek names. This rather contradicts the assumption of a Greek dialect feature.

In Greek the suffix *-aios* forms adjectives mainly from noun stems in *-a*: Ἀθηναῖος/Ἀθηναῖος, ἀνάγκη/Ἀναγκαῖος etc.;²¹ and designates an affiliation or relation.²² Thus, Ναυ(ν)ελαιος and Ἀππειραιος should be based on stems such as **nanela-*, **appeira-*, and in the same way Ματυλαιος on a stem **matula-*. *a*-stems in Indo-European languages normally designate feminine gender: Arena (1989: 95), therefore, identifies Ναυ(ν)ελαιος as a matronymic, obviously derived from a feminine *a*-stem **Nannela-*.

However, the concept of matrilineal descent (at least as an official category, instead of, or replacing, the usual patrilineal descent) is unknown in classical Antiquity. Besides, in some cases in our text we are clearly presented with a patronymic, e.g. Λυκῖνον τὸν Χαλῶ ηυιὸν^[2], Φοίνικος ηυιὸν τὸν Καλιῖω^[15], Ἀπελος Λυκῖνω^[1,16] etc.: in these cases the father is undoubtedly mentioned. It seems very

¹⁸ The exception is Ναυ(ν)ελαιος^[18], – in IGDS I 38.17 one of the few examples of referring to a person by only one name.

¹⁹ Calder (1963: 168). ²⁰ Gildersleeve (1890: xci).

²¹ Cf. Schwyzler (1939: 467), Risch (1974: 126).

²² Risch (1974: 126) also mentions an onomastic function of the suffix: the formation of short names like Εὔμαιος, Πύλαιος (cf. Εὔμηλος, Πυλαιμένης).

implausible that sometimes the patronymic is given, sometimes the matronymic, especially if Calder is right with his suggestion that all these people are members of a few families more or less from the same social milieu (see above).

Thus I think Calder is right to assume a patronymic function of *-aios*. However, there remains a syntactic and a morphological problem. To tackle the former first, if Ναν(ν)ελαιος etc. were real patronymic adjectives in a syntactic sense, they should agree in case with the head of the construction, i.e. the name of the son. Thus we would expect $\text{*Πλακίταν (τὸν) Ναννελαιον}^{[11]}$, $\text{*Ηαλον (τὸν) Πυκελει<ο>ν}^{[12]}$ or $\text{*Καδοσιν τὸν Ματυλαιον}^{[13]}$. Instead we read $\text{Πλακίταν τὸν Ναννελαιῶ}$, $\text{Ηαλον τὸν Πυκελειῶ}$, $\text{Καδοσιν τὸν Ματυλαιῶ}$ – with the father's name given in the genitive case, as is expected for a dependent noun. It is, however, true that the writer shows some uncertainty. $\text{Ῥῶμιν τὸν Καλιον}^{[7]23}$ shows the syntax of a patronymic adjective and probably was copied incorrectly to the second list – $\text{Ῥῶμις Καλιῶν}^{[21]}$. In the same way $\text{Ηαλος Πυκελειον}^{[20]}$ and $\text{Τιτελος Ναν(ν)ελαιον}^{[25]}$, as the text reads (i.e. if we do not expunge the $\langle v \rangle$ as Dubois does), are based on original expressions like Ηαλος Πυκελειος and $\text{Τιτελος Ναν(ν)ελαιος}$. Thus $\text{Ναν(ν)ελαιος}^{[18]}$ is better interpreted as a patronymic adjective, the name of the son being omitted.

In any case, the text gives the impression of fluctuating syntax: the writer is unable to make up his mind whether to use an adjective or the genitive. This feature also makes it implausible, in my view, that the use of the patronymic adjective is caused by any dialectal preference, as Calder assumed. It seems rather more likely that there is a conflict between Elymian and Greek syntax – perhaps because the writer of the text was not a Greek native speaker.

The second problem is a morphological one. A patronymic adjective derived from a stem, as e.g. **Matulos*, should result in *Matulios*, like Pindar's Κρόνιος from Κρόνος . Ματυλαιος , Ναν(ν)ελαιος and such like remain difficult. The only possible

²³ If we ignore the textual emendation to $\text{Ῥῶμιν τὸν Καλιῶ\{ν\}}$, resulting in a correct Greek sentence, and keep the original text.

explanation seems to assume masculine stems in *-ā*: that is **Matula-*, **Nanela-*. To be sure, masculine *a*-stems are common in Greek,²⁴ but not from suffixes in *-lo-*. Thus the question arises whether *-aios* in these names is really a Greek suffix, attached to a non-Greek stem. Or does it reflect a more or less homophonic suffix in an indigenous language, namely Elymian?

Whatever the exact shape of the original Elymian model suffix may have been, its rendering in Greek by *-aios* makes clear one point that has been discussed in Elymian studies for a long time. It is the most astonishing feature of Elymian epigraphy that with very few exceptions all name stems end in *-a*, with dative *-ai*. Do these names in *-a* designate males or females?²⁵ If the explanation of *-aios* through the model of an Elymian patronymic suffix is correct, it follows from this that all or some names such as *titela-* designate males.

Another hint for the interpretation of the Elymian *a*-stems as potentially masculine is given by an inscription found at the acropolis of Gela: [ν]ενδαί εἰμι καριμαίοι.²⁶ This little text, consisting of only three words, is curious because it brings together elements of three languages, as Lazzarini (1990–1: 43) has stated (‘qui infatti ci troviamo di fronte ad una scrittura greca, ad un’onomastica di tipo siculo (?) ed a strutture linguistiche che riproducono quelle delle iscrizioni elime di Segesta’), even though the Elymian feature is limited to the expression of possession by the dative; normally in this area the genitive is used, e.g. *IGDS I 172* Δυσπσέτας ἐμι (Erbessos/Montagna di Marzo). Anyway, an indigenous noun (or name) in *-ai* is combined with an adjective in *aios* (the nominative would probably be Νενδας Καριμαίος, although Νενδας is a conjecture). Incidentally, Καριμαίος is another good candidate for a patronymic in *-aios*; however, it is not clear whether Νενδας, which is attested six times in inscriptions of the Elymian area,²⁷ is a name or a noun such as a title.

²⁴ See Schwyzer (1939: 461).

²⁵ Cf. Lejeune (1990b), Agostiniani (1990: 359–60).

²⁶ Manni Piraino (1980: 1802–3 no. 40), c. 550–500 BC.

²⁷ Νενδας is attested also on the stele from Sciri (cf. Schmoll (1958: 30–1)), twice at Castiglione di Ragusa (cf. Cordano (1993: 155)) and three times at Montagna di Marzo (cf. Prosdociami and Agostiniani (1976–7: 229–30)).

The corpus of Elymian inscriptions is so fragmentary that there is little hope of testing the suggestion that the Greek suffix *-aios* renders an Elymian suffix of similar shape. Ἀππειραῖος (see above) in any case is a strong argument for the existence of such a suffix also in Elymian. But perhaps a direct trace is also preserved. The best example is the inscription *ΤΙΤΕΛΑΙ ΜΕΤΙΑΙ* (IAS 322, from Segesta). As the second name of the pair, *ΜΕΤΙΑΙ* could be the patronymic and the whole text could be translated: '(possession of / I belong to) Titelos, the Son of Metias'.²⁸

The dative ending *-aai* also occurs in other inscriptions, e.g. *ἸΛΕΝΑΙ ΕΜΙ* (IAS 306), *ἸΝΑΙ ΕΜΙ ΠΕΙ* (IAS 315), *ΔΟΦΕΝΑ ΜΥΤΑΙ* (IAS 320), *ἸΝΑΤΑΙ ΕΜΙ* (IAS 369) and also in a new inscription *ἸΑΙ ΕΜΙ*.²⁹ A simple orthographic explanation is unlikely; the use of a double vowel to designate length would be a very strange feature of Elymian orthography, compared with the orthography of contemporary Greek. Therefore, Luciano Agostiniani has raised the question of whether there is a functional difference between the ending in *-ai* and the ending in double-*a*, without giving a definitive answer.³⁰ Unfortunately only the text *ΤΙΤΕΛΑΙ ΜΕΤΙΑΙ* (IAS 322) exhibits the expected distribution: *-ai* in the 'first name', *-aai* in the 'second name'. There is also a counter-example: *ΑΤΑΙ ΤΥΚΑΙ ΕΜΙ* (IAS 319); although *ΤΥΚΑΙ* may be not a patronymic, but an epithet, or an orthographic mistake, or the result of a contraction from *ΤΥΚΑΑΙ*.

In any case, the existence of an Elymian suffix *-aa-* / (resulting from) *-aya-* is in my opinion proved by the Hellenistic Ἀππειραῖος (see above). In this late period the name in *-aios* (Elymian **-(y)a-*) had already lost its patronymic function – the father's name is given by the genitive *ΤΙΤΤΕΛΟΥ*, corresponding to the normal Greek use. But in Hellenistic times, as in Rome, official names also in this area of Sicily are sometimes tripartite and consist of the first name, father's name and surname/*gentilicium*. The function of the latter originates from the original patronymic – a very trivial development, attested widely in Latin onomastics.

²⁸ The Greek version at Selinous would be *ΤΙΤΕΛΟΙ ΜΕΤΙΑΙΟΙ.

²⁹ Bondi (1997: 141): a *kylix* from Grotta Vanella, dated to about 600 BC.

³⁰ Agostiniani (1990: 359–60).

On the other hand, the motivation of the variant *-eios* (cf. Πυκελειος, Μαρμαρειος) remains unclear. The formation resembles Greek (originally patronymic) names in *-eios*.³¹

Conclusions

A considerable part, if not the main stock, of the non-Hellenic names in the Great Curse of Selinous seems to be of Elymian origin. There are two features, besides the mere occurrence of these names, which may be interpreted as the consequences of language contact. Firstly, when used as patronymics, these names are characterized by the adjective suffix *-aios/-eios*. This seems to be the Greek rendering of an indigenous Elymian suffix, the original shape of which remains unclear: perhaps *-a'a-* / (from) **-aya-*, as attested in some Elymian texts.

The other feature is the hybrid syntax appearing in the text: patronymics expressed by the genitive of the father's name (according to the Greek model) beside patronymics expressed by adjectives (what seems to be the Elymian model). The language interference from an underlying Elymian model onto Greek leads to many mistakes: Ηαλος Πυκελειῶν^[20], Ρῶμις Καίλιῶν^[21] (cf. Ρῶμιν τὸν Καίλιῶ{ν}^[7]), Τιτελος Ναν(ν)ελαῖῶν^[25].

³¹ Cf. Bechtel (1917: 28): 'Αἶνειος...gebildet wie Ἑρότειος, Μελάνειος, Ξένειος, Πόλειος, Τίμειος, Φώντειος, Φίλειος, Χάρμειος. Diese Namen sind aus Patronymika hervorgegangen.'

CHAPTER 6

COINS AND LANGUAGE IN ANCIENT SICILY

Oliver Simkin

Introduction

The coinage of ancient Sicily is best known for its masterpieces of classical Greek art such as the Syracusan decadrachms,¹ but is also a crucial source of information about Sicily's complex linguistic history: there are coin legends in Elymian, Phoenician/Punic, Greek, Latin and even Oscan, and they provide unique insights into the history of contact between the various languages spoken on the island. The most obvious examples are the issues with bilingual legends, such as the Elymian–Greek bilingual issues from Segesta and the slightly later Punic–Greek bilinguals from Soluntum. These are not only the earliest bilingual texts from Sicily, but are in fact the only ones from the classical period.² However, the coin legends also contain many other manifestations of language contact and language change: a single city can issue coins in three different languages, can change its name, change the form of the ethnic from Ionic to Doric, or change the alphabet in which it is written.

Such changes can often be connected with specific military, political and cultural developments. Occasionally, the alleged historical context of a given coin issue has subsequently proved to be incorrect,³ but coins remain a vital tool in reconstructing the details of Sicilian history: as well as being the sole source for various magistrates' names,⁴ they can confirm the historical accounts of the fates of individual cities and their rulers, and there are

¹ E.g. Jenkins (1976), Rutter (1997). All images reproduced here are courtesy of Classical Numismatic Group, www.cngcoins.com.

² Willi (2008: 337).

³ For example, the Syracusan decadrachm previously identified as Diodorus' 'Demareteion' (Diod. 11.26.3) is now known to be unconnected to Gelon's queen Demarete and the victory at Himera: see e.g. Carradice and Price (1988: 45).

⁴ E.g. Σιλανός and Στράτων on coins from Akragas.

several instances where a particular fact about Sicily's history or political geography is only known from the evidence provided by coins. This is clearest for the handful of Sicilian ethnics and place names which are known entirely or almost entirely from coin legends,⁵ but even for better-known sites, coinage can still provide vital information: the locations of several Sicilian towns are disputed, and the find-spots of their coins can prove decisive in their identification.⁶ Coin legends can attest to historical resettlements and transfers of populations,⁷ while 'mule' issues and even mere stylistic links between the coin designs of two different cities can hint at alliances or connections that are otherwise unknown to history,⁸ also, together with overstrikes and commemorative issues they can provide *termini post* or *ante quos*, which sometimes force a revision of the generally accepted chronologies of particular events.⁹ Because the history of linguistic interaction in Sicily is inseparably tied to the political history of the island, the conclusions that can be drawn from such findings often have linguistic implications, or at least, complement the linguistic picture ascertained through other sources.

The purely linguistic value of the coin legends is clearest for the indigenous languages, simply because these are so poorly known: as a result, the information provided by the coinage constitutes a bigger part of the total picture. The only indigenous language directly attested on coins is Elymian, on issues from the cities of Segesta and Eryx; however, the Greek, Latin and Punic

⁵ E.g. Πιακός, the Πετρῖνοι and the Στιελαναῖοι, for which see e.g. Fischer-Hansen, Nielsen and Ampolo (2004: 220, 224). Cf. also the Σιλεραῖοι discussed by Poccetti in Chapter 1, and the coin legend ΣΙΧΑΣ discussed in Manganaro (2003: 855–6).

⁶ The most famous example is Morgantina, whose location was identified by the coin finds at Serra Orlando. Coin finds were also crucial for the identification of Nacona, Herbessus and Herbita, and for the mercenary coinage of 'Atl' (better ΑΘΛ), which can be identified with modern Caccamo (see Calciati (1987: 287)).

⁷ For example, in the legends ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΩΤΑΝ / ΕΚ ΚΕΦΑΛΟΙΔΙΟΥ and ΘΕΡΜΙΤΑΝ ΙΜΕΡΑΙΩΝ.

⁸ For example, there are coins from Zancle/Messana which suggest alliances with Croton and Locris; we can compare the coin inscriptions ΤΥΝΔΑΡΙΣ / ΑΓΑΤ and ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ / ΚΙΜΙΣΣ, which may also commemorate alliances or victories. Equally, on the coins of Himera, the period when the city fell under the control of Theron of Akragas is commemorated in the iconography: the cockerel which serves as the civic badge of Himera is temporarily joined by Akragas' crab.

⁹ See below on the Samian coinage of Zancle/Messana.

coin inscriptions of Sicily seem to preserve traces of other native languages.

Indigenous languages on Sicilian coins: Sicanian

There are usually said to be three indigenous languages of Sicily: Elymian, an apparently Indo-European language restricted to the far west of the island; Sicel, an apparently Indo-European language of eastern Sicily, often said to represent a relatively recent arrival from the Italian mainland; and finally Sicanian, which was supposedly spoken in the less assimilated regions of central Sicily and perhaps represents an earlier, pre-Indo-European stratum.

As pointed out by Poccetti in [Chapter 1](#), the real picture is actually rather less clear, especially for the last of the three: there is no indisputably Sicanian corpus (or at least, no positive criteria for identifying inscriptions as Sicanian),¹⁰ and no clear signs of any linguistic or cultural frontier dividing the Sicel east from the allegedly Sicanian central regions: material which looks very much like Sicel is found not just in the east, but also far inland. Thus, the very existence of a separate Sicanian language is actually open to question.

Nevertheless, Sicanian remains a useful term for the possibly pre-Indo-European substrate preserved in Sicilian place names, representing the island's oldest recoverable linguistic stratum.¹¹ In this usage it is admittedly little more than a cover-name, but this was true of Sicanian from the beginning; also, under this more limited definition we at least have some positive criteria for identifying Sicanian forms, namely the structural patterns observed by Ribezzo and others.¹² Recurring suffixes such as *-ina*, *-ana*, *-ara*, *-ssus* and *-ssa* are found in a whole series of Sicilian

¹⁰ As Willi (2008: 331–2) notes, it is useful to be able to assign undecipherable inscriptions to Sicanian, if only to 'save' Sicel. However, even the corpus resulting from this purely negative criterion is not particularly promising.

¹¹ We can compare the use of the term Sicanian by Sicilian archaeologists to describe the material culture of central Sicily (see the introduction to this volume); here again, it serves as a useful cover-name with connotations of continuity or 'autochthonicity'.

¹² Ribezzo (1949: 49–51); cf. the bibliography in Willi (2008: 333).

place names, such as Camarina, Ichana, Hyccara, Imachara, Herbessus, Telmissus and Cimissa; of course, there are also many Indo-European forms with these phonetically unremarkable sequences, so not everything caught in the net will be Sicanian, but the resulting corpus at least provides a good starting point. Furthermore, these structural patterns can help to identify potentially Sicanian place names even within historically Sicel or Elymian territory, which would fit the picture of Sicanian as the oldest stratum, geographically overlaid by these more recent arrivals. Thus, it is unproblematic that towns described as Sicel by Diodorus and other writers (including Assorus, Halaesa and Herbessus) have names which appear Sicanian: even Elymian Entella and Eryx seem to fit the pattern.¹³

This notion of Sicanian fits well with Poccetti's observations: for example, the lack of a clear geographical delimitation within Sicily is exactly what we would expect of a substrate. It leaves Sicanian without any secure inscriptional corpus, but this is also what we would expect, since it is not clear whether the language behind these place names even survived as a spoken language in the classical period, let alone as a regularly written one. The absence of coin legends in Sicanian is therefore even less of a surprise. Nevertheless, this does not mean that there is no Sicanian material on Sicilian coins: the Greek and Latin coin legends include a whole series of 'substrate' forms, mostly in the form of native place names and their associated ethnics. Among the possible contenders are Abacaenum, Assorus, Camarina, Catane, Cimissa, Entella, Galarina, Halaesa, Hippana, Imachara, Longane and Stielana; the last four are barely attested elsewhere, so the coin inscriptions are a crucial part of the dossiers for these towns. There are also a handful of theonyms personified from 'Sicanian' river names, such as Adranus (on coins issued by the Mamertini), Amenanus (on coins from Catane), Assinus (on coins from Naxos), Hipparis (on coins from Camarina), Hypsas (on coins from Selinous) and Palancaeus (on coins from Agryrium).¹⁴ Once again,

¹³ Willi (2008: 337).

¹⁴ Further examples are ΑΛΚΟΣ, ΑΛΒΟΣ or ΛΑΒΟΣ on coins from Morgantina (discussed in Antonaccio (1999: 179), although her preferred reading ΑΛΛΑΒΟΣ is difficult) and possibly also ΣΙΧΑΣ, discussed in Manganaro (2003: 855–6).

the coin inscriptions form an important part of the evidence for these river-gods: Palancaeus, for example, is apparently unattested anywhere else.

It is worth noting that the structural patterns which supposedly identify Sicanian names can also be found elsewhere in the Mediterranean from Tartessus to Asia Minor, and there is allegedly a particularly close correspondence with the Aegean or 'Pre-Greek' toponymy. The similarities are indeed often striking, although one should remember that many of the individual matches between Aegean and Sicilian place names are probably due to relatively recent colonization by Greeks who brought with them the place names of their homeland, both Greek and 'Pre-Greek' (that is, substratal within Greek). Thus, the correspondence between Sicilian Messana and Peloponnesian Messene does not indicate any Sicilian-Aegean substratum, but merely that the Sicilian town was named after the Peloponnesian site, just as the Sicilian Megara Hyblaea was named after the Megara near Corinth. Sicilian Naxos is probably another example of a 'Pre-Greek' toponym brought to Sicily by Greek colonists, even if no such tradition is recorded by classical authors; the obscure Sicilian river name Telmissus may be a fourth, and we could perhaps add Lindus, Elinia and Ataburion.¹⁵ Nevertheless, this explanation can hardly apply to the entire 'Sicanian' toponymic corpus. As such, it can be argued that this 'Sicanian' material really does seem to form part of a wider Mediterranean substratum. Of course, to the sceptic this correspondence could merely indicate the nebulosity of such substratal patterns, but it at least provides a direction for future research.

Indigenous languages on Sicilian coins: Sikel

The existence of the Sikel language is much more secure than that of Sicanian. Nevertheless, as with Sicanian there are no coin legends in Sikel itself, despite the fact that Sikel was also more established as a written language. This is no surprise, since only a few

¹⁵ These last three are mentioned in Stephanus of Byzantium and Herodian as Greek place names also found in Sicily.

of the minority languages of the ancient Mediterranean appear on coins: the production of coins bearing legends in a local language is by no means the inevitable consequence of the combination of the existence of a written language and the monetization of the local economy. As such, we must once again rely on indirect testimony such as the place names and theonyms preserved in colonial coin legends.

Sicel appears to have been an Italic language, so the attribution of a given place name to Sicel is usually motivated at least in part by the existence of a plausible Indo-European etymology (the situation is therefore the opposite of that for attributions to Sicanian, where it is precisely the lack of an Indo-European etymology that is key). Geography has also traditionally been a factor, since Sicel was apparently the language of the eastern part of the island; however, this criterion is less useful, since on the one hand it is not clear how far west Sicel actually extended, with even the supposedly non-Indo-European central regions showing some possibly Sicel forms, while on the other hand there are several ‘Sicanian’ substratum names within Sicel territory. This last point means that ancient descriptions of towns as ethnically Sicel are also not always conclusive, since the towns of the Σικελοί need not have Sicel names. Furthermore, although the use of the ethnonym Σικελοί in Greek sources seems to fit quite well with our concept of Sicel (at least compared to Sicanian and the Σικανοί), the two do not correspond completely.¹⁶

Nevertheless, the statements and attributions made by classical authors are often extremely valuable. For example, a quotation from Proxenus states that the Sicilian town and river name Gela (attested on coins: see Fig. 6.1) derives from *gela*, the word for frost ‘in the language of the Oscans and the Σικελοί’,¹⁷ a claim which is supported by the possible etymological connection to Latin *gelidus*.¹⁸

Another example is the town of Zancle, later Messene, in north-east Sicily. On the earliest coins from this city, its name appears as ΔΑΝΚΛΕ (Fig. 6.2). When a coin legend consists of a bare place name or personal name, it can sometimes be difficult

¹⁶ See Chapter 1.

¹⁷ Steph. Byz. *Ethnica* 3.45.

¹⁸ E.g. Willi (2008: 28).



Figure 6.1 AR Tetradrachm of Gela, c.480–470 BC



Figure 6.2 AR Drachm of Zancle, c.500–493 BC

to determine which language it is written in (indeed, this may sometimes even be deliberate, to ensure the widest possible audience for the coin's message). In this case, though, the final -E indicates that the legend is Greek, and more specifically East Greek, as we would expect given the Chalcidian associations of Zancle's initial colonial phase.¹⁹ The letter-forms are also characteristically Chalcidian, with their rounded *delta* and inverted *lambda*.

Although the coin legend is therefore Greek, the place name itself is apparently indigenous: Thucydides famously states that Zancle was derived from ζάγκλον, a native word for sickle, and referred to the shape of the bay.²⁰ Strabo repeats this with a slight variation (he says that ζάγκλιον was equivalent to σκολιόν),²¹ while Callimachus makes a typically *recherché* allusion to it in the *Aetia*.²² Nicander makes an equally literary allusion to the

¹⁹ Domínguez (2006: 263–6).

²⁰ Thuc. 6.4.5; see also Chapter 1.

²¹ Str. 6.2.3.

²² Call. *Aet.fr.* 43.69.

etymology in a fragment,²³ and even uses a feminine ζάγκλη ‘sickle’ in the *Alexipharmaca*.

On the coinage, the city name always appears with an initial delta, both in the earliest legend ΔANKΛΕ and in the later variant ΔANKΛΑΙΟΝ. The delta is also found in inscriptions, confirming that this was the standard spelling at the time. However, in Greek textual sources both the city name and the word for sickle are regularly spelt with initial *zeta*; the only instance of *delta* is Hesychius’ δάγκολον· δρέπανον.²⁴

There are several instances of δ ~ ζ variation in Greek, but most of them are not comparable: for example, poetic forms like ζάπτεδον and ζακρυόεις are apparently the result of folk-etymological influence from epic forms with ζά from δία.²⁵ However, a better parallel may be afforded by the examples of ζ for expected δ in Elean inscriptions, which Méndez Dosuna (1993c: 102–3) takes as evidence for a dialectal fricativization of /d/.²⁶ The δ ~ ζ alternation in Zancle could represent a similar phenomenon, with /d/ pronounced as a palatal [dʲ], an affricate [dʲʰ] or [dʒ] or a fricative [ð].

The Elean phenomenon is presumably a purely internal development, but since Zancle and ζάγκλον are apparently loans from a local non-Greek language, the δ ~ ζ variation here is generally interpreted as substratal.²⁷ Given the geographical location of Zancle, it seems most likely that the source language was Sicel.²⁸

Zancle and ζάγκλον have long been compared to Latin *falx* ‘sickle, scythe, pruning knife’, *falcula* ‘sickle’, and also to Late Latin *daculum* ‘sickle, scythe’,²⁹ which Niedermann (1918: 49)

²³ Nic. fr. 21.

²⁴ Latte (1953: 396) follows Ahrens in emending to δάγκλον, although as Poccetti suggests in this volume, one could also take δάγκολον as a genuine form showing vocalic epenthesis.

²⁵ See Sowa (2010: 275 n. 9).

²⁶ Pace Minon (1998: 203–6, 2007: 333), who explains them differently.

²⁷ E.g. Furnée (1972: 263).

²⁸ Admittedly there are no clear parallels for δ ~ ζ elsewhere in Sicel, but we might not expect any. If phonemic /d/ was routinely affricated (or fricativized, or palatalized) in Sicel, then there would have been no contrast with ‘plain’ [d]: it would only cause problems in Greek, where the initial *d-* of a Sicel loan like ΔANKΛΕ (hypothetically [dʲʰʌŋkle:] *vel sim.*) may have been different from the /d/ in other words.

²⁹ Widely attested in Romance as French *daille*, Catalan *dalla*, Gascon *dalh*, Bearnaise *dalha* etc.; see Meyer-Lübke (1972: 229), Agud and Tovar (1990: 617).

took as a ‘Ligurian’ word (it could equally well be Gaulish). Some scholars have rejected one or other of the comparanda, and Čop (1985: 93–5) even proposes that *Zancle* is unrelated to either *falx* or *daculum*, and instead derives from the root **g^{wh}en-* ‘strike, kill’. However, the evidence for a Latin form *fancla*, although not entirely secure,³⁰ constitutes a missing link which makes it harder to deny a connection. The easiest reconstruction is a protoform **d^halklo-*, with loss of the first *-l-* in *daculum* and dissimilation to *-n-* in *fancla* and *Zancle*.

This **d^halklo-* is sometimes segmented as **d^hal-klo-*, from an earlier **d^hal-tlo-* with the instrument suffix seen in *poculum* etc. One would then have to posit that Latin *falx* is a back-formation from the far less common *falcula*. In itself, this may not be such a problem, since *Zancle*, *fancla* and *daculum*, if we accept them as related, would prove that **d^halklo-* is old; however, the semantics make it tempting to connect **d^halklo-* to the root **d^helg-* ‘pierce’, as in Lith. *daĩgis*, Latv. *dalgs*, OPrus. *doalgis* ‘scythe’.

There are several problems, not least the difficulty of explaining the a-vocalism.³¹ Ultimately, though, whether the correct segmentation is **d^hal-klo-* or **d^halk-lo-*, the implications for Sicel are the same: ΔANKΛΕ supports the idea that voiced aspirates give voiced stops in Sicel (cf. δεδαξεῖδ alongside Lat. *fecit*),³² while the further development to Ζάγκλη hints at a further feature of Sicel phonology which would not otherwise be recoverable.

The Sicel litra

Although the contribution of the Sicel language to coin inscriptions is not great, there is another case where Sicel is often invoked, and which unusually is not a proper name. The Greek measure-word λίτρα ultimately spread across the Mediterranean, and gives its name to the modern litre; however, it was originally restricted to

³⁰ This word appears in Varro (in a corrupt passage, *LL* 5.137), and in a *defixio* (*CIL* I² 1614); cf. Whatmough (1953: 193).

³¹ To derive Latin *falx* from a zero-grade **d^hlg-* or an o-grade **d^holg-* requires special pleading (as in Trumper (2005), who reconstructs a proto-form **d^holgis*), yet it is *ad hoc* to take it as a loanword from another language.

³² Willi (2008: 344, 346); cf. Schmoll (1968: 205 n. 3).



Figure 6.3 AR Litra of Akragas with reverse inscription ΛΙ, c.470–425 BC

Sicily, where it is attested on coin legends in abbreviated form as ΛΙ (λίτρα) and ΠΕΝ (πεντόλιτρον) (see Fig. 6.3).³³ In modern usage, ‘litra’ refers especially to the small silver coins issued in various cities of classical Sicily, sometimes alongside the familiar pan-Greek denomination of the obol. It was apparently a native Sicilian word, borrowed into Greek from an indigenous language: as de Vaan (2008: 339) notes, ‘a coin may well be a loanword’. However, the litra was also a native weight unit, and it seems clear that the use of λίτρα as a coin name is secondary to its use as a unit of weight even within Sicilian Greek.³⁴

This fact is arguably vital for tracing the origins of the λίτρα. It is usually connected with Latin *libra* via a Proto-Italic **līthrā* or **leiθrā*; there is also a possible cognate in Umbrian, if *uef* is an abbreviation of *uefra*.³⁵ The protoform **līthrā* or **leiθrā* suggests the presence of the PIE instrument suffix **-dʰro-*, and although

³³ A variant λείτρα is known from inscriptions, but is probably just a secondary spelling for */i:/*; see Mimbrea (2006: 122). Curiously, Choeroboscus and Herodian state that the ‘Doric’ form had a short */i/*. As Schulze (1895a: 224) and Lejeune (1993: 10 n. 18) observed, this is unexpected: all the other evidence points to the vowel being long, and we would not expect there to be a separate Doric form at all, since for the most part Sicilian Greek was itself Doric. The idea of the short */i/* could even conceivably come from a misinterpretation of some earlier source; in any case, the grammarians’ statement would apparently imply that *pace* Beekes (2010: 867), the word generally *did* have a long */i:/* in Greek.

³⁴ See, for example, the Greek lexicographers’ definitions: λίτρα· ἦν μὲν καὶ νόμισμά τι, ὡς Δίφιλος· ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ σταθμοῦ Ἐπίχαρμος τε καὶ Σώφρων ἐχρήσαντο (Phot.); λίτρα· ὁ σταθμός (Suda) and also πλάστιγξ· μάστιξ· ἡ τοῦ ζυγοῦ τὸ ἀντίρροπον. καὶ τὸ νῦν λεγόμενον λίτρα (Hsch.).

³⁵ Untermann (2000: 828); see Poccetti, Chapter 1.

de Vaan (2008: 339) objects that the root is unidentified, parallels such as *stater* and *talent* suggest that this analysis is probably correct: coin names are often derived from weight units, which in turn are often derived from words for weighing-scales or their constituent parts.³⁶ Such words are typically instrument nouns, so the presence of **-d^hro-* would make perfect sense in such a lexeme, and although the root remains unclear, this does not mean that there are no possible candidates. One suggested connection is with Greek *λίαζομαι*,³⁷ reconstructed in *LIV*² as a PIE **lei_h₂-*. The Greek verb usually means ‘turn aside, shrink back, sink down’, but the primary sense may be ‘incline’ (thus *LSJ*). This would make good sense as a name for the scales or one of their constituent parts, such as the ‘slider’ or sliding counterweight of the steelyard balance (Latin *lībra*); here, Latin *līmus* ‘slanting’ can neatly be added to the dossier. Indeed, there may even be a further connection with Greek *λίαν* ‘excessively’,³⁸ pointing to a semantic development ‘incline, weigh down, be weighty’.

So far, then, the Umbrian, Latin and Sicilian Greek forms are most easily combined under a hypothetical **lei(H)d^hreh₂* or **li(H)d^hreh₂*.³⁹ The immediate source of Sicilian Greek *λίτρα* is often identified as Sicel, and the historical circumstances make this highly plausible. However, it is awkward that inherited **d^h* seems to surface as *d* elsewhere in Sicel, as mentioned above.

This apparent problem in the correspondence led some to take the Sicilian word as a borrowing from a mainland Italic language at the stage **līθrā*, perhaps via Etruscan. This makes good phonological sense, and is also historically plausible, given the importance of the Etruscan role in regional trade. However, it is not the only possibility. For example, in the framework proposed by Olsen (2010: 28, 38–41), the variant of the instrumental suffix found in forms such as Latin *crībrum* ‘sieve’ was never actually **-d^hro-* but rather **-r^hro-*, from original **-h₁-tro-* and **-h₂-tro-*. Although this proposal remains controversial, it not only fits the hypothetical

³⁶ See Peruzzi (1985: 50–3). ³⁷ Peruzzi (1985: 54–61).

³⁸ Peruzzi (1985: 59–61).

³⁹ Since Umbrian *-e-* in the Roman alphabet sometimes continues original **ī* or **ī̄*, we cannot exclude that *uef* comes from a zero-grade **līθrā* or **lī̄θrā*; however, it is more likely to represent an e-grade **leiθrā*.

connection with **leih₂-*, but would potentially allow us to take λίτρα as a native Sicel form even if **d^h* invariably gave Sicel *-d-*.

Finally, we can mention the possible parallel with the name of Mount Etna. If Αἴτνη really is from **h₂eid^h-* ‘burn’,⁴⁰ then it is probably Sicel, and would therefore seem to provide a parallel for **d^h > t*. In theory, the unexpected devoicing could be due to some unidentified phonetic conditioning factor; however, the fact that there was apparently a local Sicilian tendency to voice voiceless plosives in TR clusters (as in e.g. *houγριτο* for ὁ Εὐκρίτου)⁴¹ allows for the possibility that Αἴτνη and λίτρα are actually merely hypercorrect adaptations of Sicel /aidnā/ and /līdrā/.⁴²

In any case, and whatever the truth about the -τ- of λίτρα, it remains most probable that this word came to Sicily from the mainland, either as an inherited Proto-Italic form or as a later loan from a mainland Italic language. The opposite hypothesis that Latin *libra* is a borrowing from Sicel or Sicilian Greek⁴³ seems far less likely, particularly if we accept Umbrian *uef* as a genuine cognate.

It may be possible to find support for this hypothesis in the details of the historical use of the λίτρα as a bronze weight standard. Before true coinage arrived in the west, Sicily used the same ‘proto-currency’ as mainland Italy: the *aes rude*, irregularly shaped lumps of bronze without any fixed denominations, and with the only super-unit being the purely practical convention of the rectangular bar ingot or discoid ‘pancake slab’. The next step was the development of stamped ingots of more regular shape known as the *aes signatum*, and in particular the Etruscan ‘ramo secco’ type, bearing the design of a forked branch. The majority of find-spots are from the mainland, but at least one example made it to Bitalemi on Sicily.⁴⁴ Although the ‘ramo secco’ ingots could be divided into roughly regular sections they still had no fixed weight, and when broken into smaller fractions were effectively no different from the earlier *aes rude*.⁴⁵ Nevertheless, the fact that Sicily was part of this

⁴⁰ Cf. Poccetti, Chapter 1. An alternative etymology derives the name of Mt Etna from the Semitic word for furnace, as in Aramaic *ʔattūna*, but this seems less probable.

⁴¹ Mimblera (2006: 75). ⁴² Andreas Willi (p.c.).

⁴³ As for example in Peruzzi (1985: 63). ⁴⁴ Albanese Procelli (2003a: 19–20).

⁴⁵ Milne (1942: 27).

wider regional tradition is important, since although the bronze proto-coinage was not produced in fixed denominations, there does seem to have been a common weight system with recurring ratios.

At this point, it is worth noting an often-overlooked fact: a crucial part of the isogloss which links the Latin *libra* and the Sicilian λίτρα is the division into twelve *unciae* or ὀγκιαί, pointing to a Proto-Italic **oinikiā* ‘unit’. Thus, we are not dealing with a simple lexical loan, but with a shared system. There is a clear parallel between this shared system and the archaeological evidence for a common weight standard uniting Sicily and the mainland. As such, it is tempting to suggest that the system of the **leiθrā* and **oinikiā* dates back at least as far as this Iron Age proto-coinage.

The relative rarity of the *aes signatum* on Sicily suggests that this Iron Age proto-coinage was essentially a mainland phenomenon, in which Sicily took part only as an outlying diffusion zone. As such, if this period of the *aes rude* and *aes signatum* is indeed the stage at which the unit of the **leiθrā* arose, then the most likely scenario is that both **leiθrā* and **oinikiā* were borrowed into the indigenous Sicilian languages from one of the languages of Italy.

By the classical period, the native measure of the λίτρα was an established feature of Sicilian cultural identity, both as a weight and soon also as a denomination: the small silver *litra* was issued by several cities soon after the beginnings of coinage on the island, and some cities even issued both *litrās* and obols (these two different systems could coexist because they coincided in the drachm, which corresponded to five *litrās* but six obols). However, there is evidence to suggest that the *litra* retained its historical association with bronze.

The first Sicilian issues were silver, as was the norm in the Greek world at the time; however, bronze coins first appear around 450 BC, making them perhaps the earliest bronze coins in the Western world. Among the most distinctive types are the heavy three-dimensional cast bronzes in denominations of one, two, three and four ὀγκιαί from Akragas and Selinous, which include conical, tooth-shaped and almond-shaped issues (see Fig. 6.4). These are so unusual that some scholars have seen them as weights rather than coins, but there is little evidence to support such a view.



Figure 6.4 Cast AE onkia of Akragas, c.450 BC

Nevertheless, they are isolated within Sicily: there is sometimes a superficial similarity to the cast bronzes of Italy, but in general these are significantly later. Perhaps the closest resemblance is to certain types of *aes formatum* from mainland Italy, in particular the bronze teardrops, cockleshells, *astragaloi* and walnuts which often appear to follow a specific weight system, and were in some ways the precursors of the later *aes grave* (indeed, the same cockleshells and *astragaloi* recur as motifs on some *aes grave*, and even appear to be linked to specific denominations).⁴⁶ The Sicilian types are perhaps best analysed as innovative local creations rather than as links to Italy, but it is interesting that they seem to hark back to the earlier proto-coinage.

Within the later bronze coinage of Sicily, a distinction can be made between the heavy and predominantly cast bronzes from towns such as Agyrion, and the lighter bronze coins from other Sicilian cities which tend to be struck. The production of cast bronze coins was apparently particularly characteristic of the Sikel towns of the interior: in the fourth century not only Agyrion, but a whole series of Sikel and Sicanian towns were issuing these heavy bronzes.⁴⁷

Furthermore, while the bronze issues of the other cities were merely additions to an earlier silver coinage, these inland towns apparently issued only bronze coins. It has been suggested that the heavy bronzes were a ‘frontier coinage’, which circulated primarily in the hinterlands, as opposed to the lighter fiduciary bronze coins that circulated primarily in the Greek poleis, as the smaller

⁴⁶ See <http://andrewmccabe.ancients.info>, where this early bronze coinage is illustrated and discussed in detail.

⁴⁷ Head (1887: 101), Jenkins (1976: 141).

denominations of a primarily silver coinage.⁴⁸ Both their heavy weights and their particular associations with Sikel towns point to an especially close link with the Sicilian *litra* and its origins as a bronze weight.

Indigenous languages on Sicilian coins: Elymian

Elymian is the only one of the indigenous languages of Sicily to appear directly on coins, and the Elymian coin legends from Segesta and Eryx in north-west Sicily are crucial for our understanding of this enigmatic language, providing vital evidence not only about its language contacts but also about its phonology, morphology, genetic affiliation and even its syntax.

It is remarkable that the Elymian language should occur on coins at all: coinage in early Sicily was associated with Greek culture to the extent that all the earliest legends are Greek, even from towns which were apparently not Greek foundations. Thus, although Motya and Panormus generally issued coins with Phoenician legends, the earliest coins from the two sites bear the Greek ethnics MOTYAION and ΠΑΝΟΡΜΙΤΙΚΟΝ. Among the Elymian towns, it was Segesta which first minted coins with a native legend; the town of Eryx eventually followed suit, with issues that imitate Segesta both in the legends and designs. However, as at Motya, the earliest issues from Eryx actually bear a Greek legend, ΕΡΥΚΙΝΟΝ. The subsequent shift to Elymian can be seen as a sign of the ‘totemization’ of the Elymian language, as a crucial element in the formation of a distinctly Elymian political identity.⁴⁹

These coin legends have a crucial linguistic importance within the extremely meagre Elymian corpus.⁵⁰ The fullest versions of the legends read ΣΕΓΕΣΤΑΖΙΒ ΕΜΙ and ΙΡΥΚΑΖΙΒ (a shorter version ΣΕΓΕΣΤΑΖΙΒ is also frequent); the value of the grapheme is the subject of controversy, but it is perhaps most likely to represent

⁴⁸ Maria Caltabiano, in a paper given at the fourth Encuentro Peninsular de Numismática Antigua, Madrid, 15–17 March 2010.

⁴⁹ See Willi (2008: 43–4). ⁵⁰ Agostiniani (1999: 2–10).

a labial fricative or some similar *b*-like sound, rather than a vowel as sometimes suggested.⁵¹ Under this analysis, the most natural interpretation is that these are dative plurals, and that EMI is the first person singular of the verb ‘to be’, making ΣΕΓΕΣΤΑΖΙΒ EMI ‘I am (the coin belonging) to the Segestans’.

This has several consequences. Firstly, it provides the clearest indication that Elymian is an Indo-European language. Whether it could belong to the Italic branch of Indo-European is another controversial question: some scholars hold that a common innovation of the Italic languages is their replacement of the inherited first person singular **esmi* with the properly subjunctive **esom*, an isogloss apparently not shared by Elymian. However, others maintain that **esom* is not a morphological replacement but merely the regular phonological development of **esmi* > **esm*,⁵² in which case Elymian could theoretically still be Italic.

Secondly, it shows that Elymian could indicate possession or attribution with ‘to be’ plus dative, as parallels from the rest of the corpus confirm.⁵³ There is no need to see Punic influence here as Willi (2008: 24) has suggested: it is unproblematic to take it as an inherited construction.

Thirdly, it confirms that the coin-issuing authority is identified with a plural ethnonym ‘the Segestans’. It is interesting to consider whether this is merely a mechanical copy of the Greek models, or whether, as has been argued for parallel cases,⁵⁴ it sheds light on the political organization of the Elymians. In any case, it is worth noting that there are possible parallels from Phoenician/Punic: some coins from Panormus bear the legend *šb’l̥syš* (probably ‘(coin) of the people of Panormus’), instead of the regular *šyš*.⁵⁵

⁵¹ The uncertainty is caused by the fact that Elymian inscriptions on stone use both B and the Megarian beta (Β). Cf. Schmoll (1968: 196–7), van Compernelle (1993–4: 150), Willi (2008: 339) and Marchesini, Chapter 2.

⁵² Untermann (2000: 250), Weiss (2009: 426 n. 2).

⁵³ E.g. αταιτυκαίεμι, χσιλαίεμι, ζυσγαίεμι; see Willi (2008: 340).

⁵⁴ Silgo Gauche (2007), on the use of an apparent genitive plural in Iberian coin inscriptions.

⁵⁵ This legend is sometimes said to refer to ‘the masters of the mint’, but parallels such as *mb’l*, *b’lt* and *šb’l* favour the interpretation given here: see Jongeling (2008: 293–4, 300–1).

It also confirms that we are dealing with a ‘speaking inscription’ in the first person singular.⁵⁶ There are only a couple of parallels in coin inscriptions from the ancient Mediterranean: Greek ΦΑΝΕΟΣ EMI ΣΗΜΑ from Ephesus,⁵⁷ and perhaps also Iberian **iltirta-salir-nai** from Lérida.⁵⁸ Interestingly, all three examples belong to the initial period of monetarization of their respective cultures, before there was an established pattern for coin legends to follow. Such patterns are typically self-reinforcing: because the formulae of a given culture’s coin legends inevitably become associated with authenticity and authority, they tend to favour the elimination of variation, leading to the structural homogeneity which is so characteristic of coin legends. In the absence of any pre-existing formulae for coin legends, however, it appears that these early coins instead drew on the wider conventions of the native epigraphy and followed the linguistic formulae of inscriptions used on other materials and in other contexts, such as ownership formulae and makers’ inscriptions.⁵⁹ It is therefore no coincidence that Elymian ownership inscriptions appear to show precisely the same construction of EMI plus dative.

The coin legends of Segesta and Eryx also contain several points of phonological interest. For example, the variant ΣΑΓΕΣΤΑΖΙΒ suggests that the first vowel was more open than the second, while the legend IPYKAZIB suggests that the initial vowel here was different again, despite the fact that all three vowels are written with epsilon in Greek.

A further point is that the Greek component of the bilingual Segestan issues varies between ΣΕΓΕΣΤΑΙΟΝ and ΕΓΕΣΤΑΙΟΝ. The asigmatic form is well-established in Greek, being the standard form found in both Thucydides and Diodorus

⁵⁶ More precisely, a speaking inscription *with the first person singular overtly expressed*: most coin inscriptions leave the presumed subject and verb implicit, and can therefore be interpreted either as a 1sg. ‘I am the coin of X.’ or as a 3sg. ‘this is the coin of X.’

⁵⁷ E.g. Franke and Schmitt (1974), Fort (1996).

⁵⁸ García Bellido and Blázquez (2001: 191). This legend could possibly mean ‘I (am) the coin of Ilerda’, but the identification of **nai** as the 1sg. pronoun remains controversial: it may be a demonstrative, ‘this (is) the coin of Ilerda’.

⁵⁹ See Shell (1978: 66–7), who notes the particular link between the ‘badge of Phanes’ and inscribed seals.

Siculus.⁶⁰ Interestingly, Segesta is not the only Sicilian town name to show such variation: we also find Σεργέτιον ~ Ἐργέτιον, and perhaps also Σίπανα ~ Ἰπανα and Σίχανα ~ Ἰχανα.⁶¹ Willi (2008: 338) suggests that this may be a Sicanian phenomenon, perhaps indicating that the Greeks first learned the name of Segesta not from the Elymians themselves, but from their neighbours. In any case, as with Dancle/Zancle, the variation appears to reflect a ‘substratal’ phonological feature.

Colonial languages

The examples treated above reveal how coin legends are crucial for the study of the poorly attested indigenous languages of Sicily. For the better-known languages, the linguistic content of the legends is less important: they do not generally add to our knowledge of the Greek or Latin languages. However, as with Dancle/Zancle, the precise forms of the place names and ethnics found on the coins can sometimes be highly significant. For example, the Sicilian town which is generally called Λογγώνη in Greek sources appears on its coins as the ethnic ΛΟΓΓΑΝΑΙΟΝ,⁶² while the Γαλερία of Diodorus Siculus turns up as ΓΑΛΑ and ΓΑΛΑΡΙΟΝ. In both cases, the coins provide unique first-hand evidence for the forms that were actually used by the towns’ inhabitants at the time. The coin legends are even important for better-attested place names such as Syracuse: by spelling the ethnic ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ with an omicron even when other coin legends from the same city contain the spurious diphthong ΟΥ (e.g. in the reverse legends ΔΙΟΣ ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΙΟΥ and ΔΙΟΣ ΕΛΛΑΝΙΟΥ), they confirm that the native form was Συρακόσιος rather than the expected Συρακούσιος.⁶³

⁶⁰ In fact there are also further variants such as Αἴγεστα and Ἀκέστη. However, this goes beyond the s- : h-/θ- variation found in the other place names, and may represent secondary folk-etymology or the like.

⁶¹ Manganaro (2003: 856), although the last two are problematic.

⁶² Cf. the epigraphic ΛΟΓΓΕΝΑΙΟΣ in Dubois (1989: 250). It is sometimes claimed that Λογγώνη and Λογγάνη are actually two separate sites, but the evidence is not conclusive.

⁶³ The form of the ethnic is discussed in detail in Mimbrela (2006: 162–5).

Similarly, the late coins of Soluntum show an ethnic ΣΟΛΟΝΤΙΝΩΝ, and not the Σολουντίνων which we find in Diodorus.

The linguistic content of the Phoenician/Punic coin legends of Sicily is equally interesting. In a couple of cases the Phoenician legend appears to represent an indigenous place name: this occurs most clearly at Eryx (Phoenician *'rk*) but perhaps also at Panormus, for the much-discussed *sys*.⁶⁴ In general, though, the forms found on Sicily's Phoenician/Punic coins tend to have Phoenician etymologies. This is most evident in the Siculo-Punic coinage, where the mint-sites or issuing authorities named on the coins have culturally assertive names such as *rš mlqrt* 'the head/cape of Melqart', *mḥnt* 'the camp' (see Fig. 6.6) and *mḥšbm* 'the quartermasters'.⁶⁵ However, the trend is present even in the earlier coinages: thus, Motya is Phoenician *mṭw*, supposedly 'the (wool) spinning-place'. Some of these etymologies could be incorrect,⁶⁶ and others could be secondary folk-etymologies of indigenous toponyms, but there certainly appears to be a clear preference for native Phoenician place names. This leads to situations where a town can apparently have two names, one Phoenician and the other indigenous or Greek. In such cases it is often suggested that the two names refer to historically separate sites; however, we should remember that for Soluntum on the north coast of Sicily there are bilingual bronzes with the legends ΣΟΛΟΝΤΙΝΟΝ / *kpr*' (Fig. 6.5), suggesting that the two names (Phoenician *kpr* 'the village' and Greek *Solus*) really do denote the same town. As such, there is little difficulty in proposing the same for Panormus; indeed, there is even a rare Phoenician–Greek bilingual silver *litra* which seems to confirm that Panormus and *sys* are one and the same.⁶⁷

⁶⁴ Manganaro (2003: 849–50); cf. Cutroni Tusa (1993–4: 451), (1997–8: 658), Xella (1994: 13–18), Manfredi (1995: 112).

⁶⁵ There have been various attempts to link these inscriptions with geographical sites in Sicily, most notably identifying *rš mlqrt* with Cephaloedium, but also connecting *mḥnt* and *mmḥnt* with Lilybaeum, etc. However, the Siculo-Punic coinage was apparently produced for circulation across the Carthaginian empire, and it now seems that most of the legends refer either to the issuing authorities or to the issue's intended users or circulation zone, rather than to physical mint sites. Indeed, even the interpretation of *rš mlqrt* is not entirely secure: see Amadasi Guzzo (2000: 5–7).

⁶⁶ See e.g. Amadasi Guzzo (2003: 32–3) on Motya.

⁶⁷ Jenkins (1971: 28–9), Visonà (1995: 168), Manganaro (2003: 849). Cf. Rutter (1997: 162).



Figure 6.5 AE Tetras of Soluntum with bilingual Greek / Phoenician legends,
c.400–350 BC



Figure 6.6 Siculo-Punic AR Tetradrachm with reverse legend *'mmhnt*,
c.320–300 BC

Change of language

The bilingual inscriptions on these coins are a handy testament to Sicily's complex language contacts, but in absolute terms they are relatively rare: they are essentially limited to the aforementioned Elymian–Greek bilinguals from Segesta, the Punic–Greek bilinguals from Soluntum and Panormus and eventually also the Latin–Greek bilinguals from Cephaloedium reading ΚΕΦΑ / C L DOMINVS and ΚΕΦΑ / C CANINIVS II VIR.⁶⁸ A more common phenomenon is a historical shift from one language to another: for example, Eryx issued coins in three different languages. These shifts of language are equally important as evidence for linguistic

⁶⁸ Sometimes read L CANINVS II VIR.

contact, and although the circumstances of language shift vary from one town to another, there are broad patterns which emerge.

The first true coins used in Sicily would probably have been imported Greek silver issues, both from the mother-cities of the Greek colonists and from other Greek cities with regionally important coinages – for example Aegina, whose ‘turtles’ turn up in the Selinous hoard.⁶⁹ In these early stages of monetarization, the first imported coins may have been used simply as bullion; indeed, coins and hacksilber continue to turn up alongside each other in much later contexts.⁷⁰ However, from 550 BC onwards the Greek colonies of Sicily were already beginning to issue silver coins of their own. The earliest Sicilian cities to mint coins were Himera, Selinous, Naxos and Zancle, but these were soon followed by Akragas, Syracuse, Gela and other cities, until by the mid-fifth century a whole series of Sicilian cities were issuing their own coinage.

As elsewhere in the ancient world, the spread of coinage across Sicily, as one site after another began to issue their own coins, was apparently motivated as much by cultural prestige as by any economic necessity.⁷¹ This explains why the earliest coins from Elymian Eryx and Phoenician Motya bear Greek legends: coinage was seen as a culturally Greek phenomenon. Indeed, coinage was in effect just one more trait of the Hellenizing culture which was flourishing in the coastal cities of classical Sicily, and was therefore adopted by the Elymians and other non-Greeks on the island as a component of a wider cultural package marked by a high degree of urbanization, impressive civic and religious architecture, and eventually also the celebration of athletic successes and the proud Sicilian Greek literary tradition.⁷²

One of the most visible traits of this Hellenizing culture was the flowering of classical Greek art, and this is reflected on the coins. The coins of Elymian Eryx imitate the iconography of their Greek neighbours, and even when Segesta began to mint the first

⁶⁹ Arnold-Biucchi (1992a: 14). ⁷⁰ See Schaps (2004: 106).

⁷¹ Kraay (1964: 89).

⁷² Cf. Hodos (2007: 115) on the Sicilian adoption of the ‘relationship between wine consumption, status and inscriptions’; this is an earlier manifestation of the same trend, and reminds us that literacy is an important component of such cultural packages.

non-Greek legends, the designs on the coins were still purely Greek. The Phoenician and Punic coinage of Sicily is often more distinctive, with the characteristic palm tree already present on the early coins of Motya; nevertheless, it is still immediately visible that both these coins and the later Siculo-Punic types also derive from a purely Greek numismatic tradition.

Similarly, although the appearance of coins with Elymian legends indicates the rise of a new, culturally assertive indigenous identity, the Greek language continued to extend its cultural reach. Although Eryx had changed its coin legends from Greek to Elymian, it subsequently changed them back to Greek; similarly, the originally Elymian legends of Segesta are replaced by bilingual Elymian–Greek legends, which eventually shift entirely to Greek. Even Motya, which had started off with Greek legends but then moved to Phoenician, issued a few later coins bearing Greek legends (although interestingly some of these legends read from right to left, perhaps from Phoenician influence).⁷³

Language and political history on Sicilian coins

Changes of language in coin legends can sometimes be linked to specific historical events. For example, some coins from Eryx bear Phoenician legends, and clearly date from the period at the turn of the fifth and fourth centuries when Eryx was under intermittent Carthaginian control.⁷⁴ Even more subtle shifts such as changes of dialect or alphabet can have equally important implications, especially when combined with the evidence from non-linguistic features such as a coin's iconography or weight system. During the tangled history of classical Sicily, towns were not only subject

⁷³ Willi (2008: 348). It is worth remembering that retrograde legends are fairly common on coins of all dates, and sometimes appear to be due to the challenge of fitting a coin legend around the design while keeping the vertical orientation consistent: such legends can even switch direction halfway through (as, for example, on the early silver *litras* of Akragas). Also, coin inscriptions and designs are often inadvertently reversed when a die-engraver forgets that the design on the die will appear in mirror-image on the coin (as on the Segestan tetradrachm in Mildenberg (1987: 392), which imitates the obverse of a Syracusean type). This could explain other late examples of retrograde legends, such as those on the bronzes of Camarina and the Σιλερσοῖοι. However, for the Motyan coins it seems likely that the direction of writing is no mere accident.

⁷⁴ See Consolo Langher (2000: 296).

to occupations and changes of name but also to complete destruction and resettlement; the coinage often provides vital evidence for these changes of fortune. Such events naturally had linguistic consequences, so the resulting picture can have implications for the linguistic situation which go beyond the information provided on the coins themselves.

The coinage of Zancle/Messana is a particularly good illustration of these principles.⁷⁵ Early Zancle was Chalcidian in its inscriptions and traditions, but in 493 BC a contingent of Samians came to power in the city. A few years after this, Zancle was conquered by Anaxilas of Rhegium (on the other side of the Straits of Messina), and was apparently renamed Messene on his orders.

All this and more is reflected in the coinage. The first coins from Zancle follow the Chalcidian weight standard, bear the Chalcidian legend DANKLE and have the motif of a dolphin, surrounded by a crescent or horseshoe representing the eponymous harbour. The iconography then changes dramatically, first to Samian types, and then to designs which celebrate Anaxilas' Olympic victory and emphasize the links with Rhegium. There is also a change in weights and denominations, from the original Chalcidian drachm to tetradrachms of the Euboean-Attic standard.

The coin legends show their own series of changes: after the DANKLE of the initial phase disappears, the Samian issues initially bear no inscription at all. Under Anaxilas the new ethnic MESSENION appears, written with distinctive Chalcidian curved *sigmas* which are often reversed. However, in the mid-fifth century the legends show a change in dialect, from the East Greek MESSENION to a Doric MESSANION (still with the curved Chalcidian sigmas). This change exemplifies the wider pattern of the spread of Sicilian Doric across the island at the expense of the other dialects, leading to coin legends such as ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΩΤΑΝ, ΘΕΡΜΙΤΑΝ, ΣΙΚΕΛΙΩΤΑΝ, ΤΑΥΡΟΜΕΝΙΤΑΝ, ΤΥΝΔΑΡΙΤΑΝ and ΥΒΛΑΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΑΣ.⁷⁶

⁷⁵ Both the numismatic and historical sequences are even more complicated than presented here. A fuller discussion is Robinson (1946: 13–20); see also Fischer-Hansen, Nielsen and Ampolo (2004: 235–36), Vysokij (2006: 254).

⁷⁶ Cf. ΠΟΣΕΙΔΑΝ on late bronzes from Messene, and ΣΙΛΑΝΟΣ (apparently a magistrate's name) from Akragas.



Figure 6.7 AR Drachm of Naxos with reverse legend NAXION, c.461–430 BC

Soon after this change in dialect, there is a change in the alphabet of the coin legends: the ethnic is no longer written as MESSANION in the Chalcidian script, but MEΣΣANION with the standard Milesian *sigmas*. A similar change in script takes place at around the same time in the other Chalcidian colonies: the legends of Naxos change from NAXION to NAΞION (cf. Fig. 6.7), and those of Himera from HIMEPAION to IMEPAION.

At a slightly later date, these coin legends change again with the appearance of the *omega*: from around 425 BC MEΣΣANION, NAΞION and IMEPAION become MEΣΣANIΩN, NAΞIΩN and IMEPAIΩN. The same change is attested on coins from across the island, as the omega was adopted in city after city. Numismatic epigraphy is famously conservative, and in general the spread of the Milesian *omega* and *eta* reflects this:⁷⁷ they typically appear on coins later than in other inscriptions, and the form of the ethnic is the last to change, leading to coins which show *omega* in engravers' or magistrates' names but still spell the ethnic with *omicron*,⁷⁸ as in AKPAΓANTINON/ΣTPATΩN on a tetradrachm from Akragas.⁷⁹

⁷⁷ There are one or two exceptions, including the unexpectedly early Milesian eta and psi in ΣΟΤΗΡ and ΠΕΛΟΥ on pre-450 BC tetradrachms from Himera; Jeffery (1961: 246) even suggested that the dies for Himera's coins may have been produced by engravers from Selinous or Syracuse. Cf. Arena (1994: 63), Brugnone (1995: 1305, 1308).

⁷⁸ See Brugnone (1995: 1299), Mimblera (2006: 54).

⁷⁹ The later AKPAΓANTINΩN shows that this AKPAΓANTINON really is a genitive plural, rather than a neuter singular.

The full story of Zancle/Messana's coinage is even more complex, and the interpretation of some features remains controversial.⁸⁰ Nevertheless, the coins reveal several facts that would otherwise be unknown to history. For example, the Samian types show mint-marks running from A to E; this suggests that the Samian faction was in power for at least five years, which would provide a *terminus post quem* of 488 BC for Anaxilas' conquest.⁸¹ Even more striking are the coins apparently indicating alliances with Locris and Croton, and the issue which returns to the original motif of the dolphin and the legend DANKLAION, suggesting a short-lived restoration of the original regime.⁸²

These examples demonstrate how the numismatic evidence can shed new light on Sicilian history. In some cases, these historical findings have linguistic consequences. For example, foreign mercenaries played an important part in Sicilian history, and are named in the coin legends ΤΥΡΡΗΝΙΑΝΣ (Tyrrhenians), ΚΑΜΠΑΝΙΩΝ (Campanians, at Entella and Nacona), and perhaps also ΣΙΛΕΠΑΙΩΝ (supposedly a subgroup of Campanians: see [Chapter 1](#)). From the Roman period there is also the series with the legend HISPANORVM, now known to have been struck at Morgantina.⁸³ The influx of these groups inevitably had linguistic effects, but in most cases there is no documentary evidence. However, at Zancle/Messana the group known as the Mamertini actually left records in their own language: on the coins, the Greek legends ΜΑΜΕΡΤΙΝΙΩΝ alternate with the Oscan ΜΑΜΕΡΤΙΝΟΥΜ.⁸⁴ This rare testimony to the survival of the Mamertini's native language is a reminder that we should consider the linguistic situation behind the other mercenary coinages, and behind the other historical events commemorated on the coins. In other words, the linguistic information provided by Sicilian coins is not restricted to the inscriptions themselves.

⁸⁰ E.g. Robinson (1946: 13–18), Vysokij (2006: 254), both of whom criticize the identifications in Dodd (1908).

⁸¹ Fischer-Hansen, Nielsen and Ampolo (2004: 235).

⁸² Robinson (1946: 18), Fischer-Hansen, Nielsen and Ampolo (2004: 236).

⁸³ Arnold-Biucchi (1992b: 189).

⁸⁴ Sironen (1995: 187–92), Pinzone (1999: 143–5). See also [Chapters 1](#) and [4](#).

Conclusions: the linguistic corpus of Sicilian coin legends

As discussed above, the coinage of Sicily is among the finest of the ancient Mediterranean. Its richness and variety is partly due to factors such as the ethnic complexity of the island, its tangled political history, its economic importance and cultural prominence; this gave rise to a coinage that was one of the first in the region, and also one of the largest both in overall volume and in the number of different types.

The linguistic content of these coins is correspondingly rich, for the same reasons. It is instructive to compare the situation on Sardinia: the two islands are near neighbours of roughly the same size, yet while there are thousands of Sicilian coin types, with legends in five different languages and traces of a couple more, Sardinia produced no coins at all during the classical period.

Given this wealth of material, it is no surprise that the information provided by the coin legends is of great value for the study of ancient Sicily. The material from the indigenous languages is particularly important, precisely because these are so poorly known, but the coins continue to shed light on all aspects of classical and Hellenistic Sicily. The readings of some inscriptions have been revised as better-preserved examples come to light, and every few years an entirely new type is discovered. These new finds have often provided completely new information about Sicilian theonyms, place names and their probable locations, and we can expect future discoveries to do the same.

PART II

GREEK

CHAPTER 7

SICILIAN GREEK BEFORE THE FOURTH CENTURY BC

An overview of the dialects

Susana Mimbrera

Introduction

This chapter provides an overview of the Greek spoken and written in Sicily down to the end of the fifth century BC.¹ The reason for choosing this timeframe is that there is a clear-cut divide in the documentation. Firstly, the Ionic dialect used in the Chalcidian colonies stopped being used after this date (we subsequently find only Doric). As for the Doric dialect, from the fourth century onwards it starts to be influenced by the Attic-Ionic koine.² Besides, some of the old cities, like for example Selinous, which was destroyed by the Carthaginians in 409 BC, yield few new documents after the end of the fifth century.³

¹ Owing to our imperfect knowledge of dialectal accentuation, throughout this chapter the dialectal forms from the inscriptions are not accented, keeping with the common practice among Greek dialectologists. All dates are BC. When inscriptions are quoted, the following conventions are followed: after the abbreviation of the inscription and its number, there appears a parenthesis with the abbreviation of the place of origin, the type of inscription, and the date. For example, *IGDS* II 18 (SEL, ldc., 480–450) is an inscription coming from Selinous, is a law and is dated between 480 and 450. The following abbreviations for the places of origin are used: ACR (Akragas), CAM (Camarina), CAS (Casmene), CAT (Catane), [Dlf.] Delphi, ENT (Entella), GE (Gela), GE-ACR (Rhodian-Cretan area), re. GE (region of Gela), HEL (Heloron), HI (Himera), LEONT (Leontinoi), M.d.M. (Montagna di Marzo), MH (Megara Hyblaea), NAX (Naxos), [OI.] Olympia, SEL (Selinous), [Sp.] (Sparta), SYR (Syracuse), Terr. (Terravecchia di Cuti), ZAN (Zancle). The abbreviations of the type of inscriptions are as follows (when the type of inscription is uncertain, the material of which it is made is given): ce. (ceramic), com. (commercial inscription), con. (contract), ded. (dedication), *def.* (*defixio*), fin. (financial inscription), fun. (funerary inscription), ldc. (laws, decrees and conventions), orac. (oracular inscription), poss. (possessor's inscription), priv. (private inscription), publ. ded. (public dedication), publ.inscr. (public inscription), sign. (signature of artist), *tes.* (*tessera*). In the indication of the date, the abbreviation 'arch.' means 'archaic' and 'Hell.' means 'Hellenistic inscription' (used if it is not possible to be more precise), *c.* means *circa*, VI² means 'second part of the sixth century'.

² For the Greek of the fourth century onwards, see [Chapter 8](#). ³ See [Chapter 8](#).

I will give short descriptions of the Ionic and Doric dialects used in Sicily, and present two representative inscriptions with commentary. There is no need to give separate descriptions for each city, since this would entail a lot of repetition. Besides, in some cases historical events such as the repopulation of cities or the deportation of entire populations⁴ must have altered the dialectal map very rapidly, so it does not make sense to present different grammars for the Sicilian colonies according to the various origins of its settlers, as Bechtel (1921) did.

When talking about the language of the Ionic colonies, I will first analyse the Ionic features that can be found in the material that we have and then the Doric features (which appear as a result of the political upheavals that engulfed the Ionic cities). I will not take into consideration those features that are, strictly speaking, neither Ionic nor Doric, and which do not give us much information about the linguistic make-up of the various cities. I will show how Doric gradually supplants Ionic in Sicily.

As for Doric, I will discuss its general features and will then examine what little evidence there is for intradialectal differentiation (i.e. whether there are linguistic differences among the various Doric cities) and dialect convergence. In order to study dialect convergence, I will concentrate on those linguistic features that are not shared by all West Greek dialects and where, therefore, the original dialects of Sicily may have differed. I will attempt to determine whether some features spread or not. This is followed by a summary of the main points of the chapter and an overview of Greek in Sicily before the fourth century. However, before giving an account of Sicilian Greek, I will deal with some basic questions such as the research that has been done on Sicilian Greek, the history of Sicily, the kind of material that we have and the alphabets used.

Previous scholarship

For Sicilian Ionic we have the grammar of the Euboean dialect by del Barrio Vega (1987), which includes the linguistic data from

⁴ See below.

Sicily. Concrete dialectal aspects have been dealt with by Cassio (1990), (1996) and Del Monaco (2000). The earliest works on Sicilian Doric are Ahrens (1843) and Bechtel (1923), which were quickly surpassed by Sicca's (1924) valuable grammar of the inscriptions (phonology, morphology and a small dictionary). A quick description of Sicilian Doric (including the language of the literary authors) can be found in Thumb and Kieckers (1932). The most recent grammar is Mimblera (2006), which takes into account the important new inscriptions that have come to light since the publication of the above-mentioned grammars.

Other works deal with particular aspects of Doric Sicily. For the idea of a Syracusan-based koina, see Bartoněk (1973). Arena (1986) discusses various dialectal features, while Dubois (1989, 2008) focuses on the lexicon. There is also Curbera (1994a), which is a collection of studies on Sicilian onomastics. Bettarini's (2005) book is a valuable edition and commentary on the *defixiones* from Selinous. Willi's (2008) excellent study on Greek Sicilian literature also comments briefly on the language of the inscriptions.

Inscriptional evidence for Ionic

The corpus of inscriptions is very small. We have coins, but their inscriptions are by their nature very short. Himera is the city that has yielded most data (although the inscriptions are also very short). The most important texts were found in Olympia.

- Naxos: The only inscriptions are a dedication (*SEG* XLVI 1267), inscriptions on pottery (*ISic.MG* III 73, *IGDS* II 3b, *ISic.MG* III 75), *glandes* (*ISic.MG* III 76, *IGDS* II 4b) and coins (*ISic.MG* III 78, III 79).
- Leontinoi: The inscriptions that we possess are few, very short and provide very little linguistic data. They are mostly coins (*ISic.MG* III 80–3), some inscriptions on pottery (*IGDS* II 6, 7, 9, 10, 11) and a legal inscription on bronze (*IGDS* II 8).
- Catane: We do not have many inscriptions, only coins (*ISic.MG* III 85, 86, *IGDS* II 12, 13) and a public dedication (*SEG* XXXII 919).
- Zancle: Apart from the coins (*ISic.MG* III 39–42), the only inscriptions coming from this city were found at Olympia. They are a law (*ISic.MG* III 34), public dedications (*ISic.MG* III 35, 36, 37, 38 a and b) and an inscription on pottery (*ISic.MG* III 43).

- Himera: There are only a few inscriptions from Himera and they are very short. There are dedications (*ISic.MG* III 44, 48, 53, *IGDS* II 17), inscriptions on vases or pottery (*ISic.MG* III 45, 46, 47, 49, *IGDS* I 7, *IGDS* II 16), a weight (*ISic.MG* III 52), public dedications (*ISic.MG* III 54), coins (*ISic.MG* III 55, 56, 57), a law (*IGDS* II 15) and inscriptions on lead (*ISic.MG* III 50, 51).
- Monte San Mauro, Longane, Stielana: We also have some inscriptions from these small towns. From Monte San Mauro we have a law (*ISic.MG* III 84), from Longane, some coins and also a public inscription (*IGDS* I 200, 450) and Stielana has yielded a dedication from the fifth century (*IGDS* II 5).

The alphabet and the dialect of the Ionic colonies

The inscriptions are written in the so-called ‘red’ alphabet (<X> is used for /ks/ and arrow-shaped <Ψ> for /k^h/). Himera is the city which provides most material. All Euboean settlements show Euboean features, as is to be expected:

- <E>/<H> for original /a:/. This is attested in all settlements, e. g. φιλη *ISic.MG* III 75 (NAX, vase, late V), Κλεοδημος *IGDS* II 8 (LEONT, ded., late V), Κατανῆ *ISic.MG* III 85 (CAT, coin, before 476), nominative plural Μεσσηνιοι *ISic.MG* III 36 (ZAN [Ol.], publ. ded., 488–485), etc. But Doric <A> for /a:/, attested already in Himera in the sixth century, seems to be widespread in the fifth century (more on this later).
- /ɔ:/ as the result of the contraction of /a:/ + /ɔ:/ in the personal name in nominative Ερμωνδαί *IGDS* II 4b (NAX, *glans*, late V). In Doric we would have expected /a:/.
- Genitive Πρ|αττιδεο *IGDS* I 7 (HI, stone, 550–500), which may be interpreted as -ιδεῖο from Ionic -ιδηο (<-ιδῶο) through abbreviation of the first element of the hiatus followed by compensatory lengthening of the second element.⁵ Alternatively, it may be read -ιδεο, which could be explained through analogy with the *s*-stems. Both types (-ιδεῖο and -ιδεο) are attested in Euboean.⁶
- Personal name in genitive Επικρατ[ε]ῖο *ISic.MG* III 76 (NAX, *glans*, 500–450) instead of the expected genitive in -εος, with passage of the stems in *-s to the stems in */-a:/.⁷

⁵ For this phonetic interpretation of the quantitative metathesis, see Méndez Dosuna (1993a).

⁶ See del Barrio Vega (1987: 336–52). ⁷ See Cassio (1990: 24).

- Article in nominative plural feminine *ἡαί* *IGDS* II 15.4 (HI, ldc., 500). The Doric equivalent would be *ταί*.
- Conditional *ἰαν* (equiv. Attic *ἐάν*), *IGDS* II 15.5 (HI, ldc., 500), *ISic.MG* III 84 Fr. 1, l. 5 (M. S. Mauro, ldc., VI). This form is attested in Euboean.⁸
- Personal name *Προταρχος* *ISic.MG* III 76 (NAX, *glans*, 500–450), whereas in Doric we would have expected *πρατ-*.
- Athematic infinitive ending added to a thematic present: *κλεπτεναι* *IGDS* II 6 (LEONT, ce., 500–475). A similar form (*πελέναι*) is attested in Parmenides (28B.8). This type seems to have originated in West Ionic, and is probably due to analogy with forms such as *πιέναι*, cf. aorist *ἔπιον*, which is attested in the gold tablet from Hipponion. *πιέναι* may itself have been an innovation, created by analogy with the oscillations between forms such as *τιθεῖν* – *τιθέναι* in Euboean.⁹
- Ionic athematic ending *βλεθεῖναι*¹⁰ *ISic.MG* III 34 (ZAN [OI.], ldc., late VI), *ἔναι* *ISic.MG* III 84 Fr. 5 (M. S. Mauro, ldc., VI).
- Ionic *γέη* (= Attic *γῆ*), cf. Hdt. 4.198, etc. in *IGDS* II 15.14 (HI, ldc., c.500).
- The movable *-v*, an Ionic feature,¹¹ appears in *αν]εθηκεν* *IGDS* II 11 (LEONT, ded., late V), *αν]εθεκεν* *ISic.MG* III 48 (HI, ded., 450).

Alongside the Ionic features, Doric features are also attested in Zancle, Himera, Leontinoi, Longane and Stielana:

- <A> for original /a:/, attested in Himera already in the sixth century and especially in the fifth in *ISic.MG* III 50 (HI, priv., 550–500), *ISic.MG* III 51 (HI, priv., 475–450), *ISic.MG* III 52 (HI, weight, 450), etc. The presence of Euboean and Doric features at the same time is not surprising if we bear in mind that Himera was founded by people coming from Zancle and fugitives from Syracuse. Its dialect was described as a mixed variety (cf. Thuc. 6.5.1). <A> for original /a:/ is also attested in Zancle, in the genitive plural *Μεσσανιδῶν* *ISic.MG* III 42 (ZAN, coin, 460–430). This Doric form can probably be explained by taking into account the mixed population that settled in Zancle in the fifth century at the request of Anaxilas, the tyrant of Rhegium. Special mention should be made of the inscription *ISic.MG* III 34 (ZAN [OI.], ldc., late VI), where we find Ionic and Doric features side by side:

⁸ See del Barrio Vega (1987: 431, 173).

⁹ See Cassio (1996: 18).

¹⁰ According to Del Monaco (2000), we would have here *βυεθῆναι*, cf. Attic *βοηθεῖν*, a form that would display the closure of /o/. However, as Dubois (2003: 683, §654) rightly remarks, examples of such closure are attested in Euboean only at the end of a word.

¹¹ See Buck (1955: 84). It is usual in Euboean; see del Barrio Vega (1987: 242–5).

Doric γαν τας l. 2, δαμον l. 8, with <A> for original /a:/, but <H> in the accusative Δα|γκλην l. 7–8, and the aorist passive infinitive βλεθεῖναι with the Ionic athematic ending (the Doric ending is -μεν or -μειν in Sicily).¹² It has been suggested that the Doric features were introduced by the Elean engravers of the inscription.¹³ The date of the inscription does not allow us to ascribe it to the mixed population mentioned above.

- Apocope in παρ το *IGDS* II 15.6 (HI, ldc., 500). Apocope is rare in Ionic.¹⁴ For the explanation of a Doric form in this Euboean colony, see above.
- Genitive in -ιος in *i-stem personal names. The only attestation is Παρ|μενιος *IGDS* II 10 (LEONT, ce., V). In Euboean we would expect a genitive in -ιδος.¹⁵ It may be that this personal name belonged to a person of non-Euboean origin. Anyway, Leontinoi came under the dominion of Gela and Syracuse during the fifth century, which is also the date of the inscription where the name is attested. This might explain its presence among other more typically Euboean features.
- Dative πολλι *IGDS* II 5 (Stielana, ded., V). This feature seems Doric, since Euboean shows the declension of the Attic type:¹⁶ we would expect the dative ending -ει.
- Doric aorist in -ξα of a verb in -ζω that we have to suppose for the personal name in nominative Σιξας *ISic.MG* III 50 (HI, priv., 550–500), cf. σίζω. Note also <A> for original /a:/. For the presence of Doric features at Himera, see above.

Other features are strictly speaking neither Ionic nor Doric. They are not very relevant for determining the linguistic make-up of the Euboean towns, since they are quite banal. For reasons of space they are not discussed here.

To conclude, although the Euboean colonies show Ionic features until the end of the fifth century, Doric features are also attested as a result of the historical events sketched above. As for the situation in the Hellenistic period, inscriptions from the old Euboean colonies are very scarce.¹⁷ They are very short and the only relevant dialectal feature that they display is the preservation

¹² See Mimbrera (2006: 320). ¹³ See Dubois (1989: 7).

¹⁴ See Buck (1955: 81). ¹⁵ See del Barrio Vega (1987: 386–9).

¹⁶ See del Barrio Vega (1987: 384–6).

¹⁷ The Hellenistic inscriptions are *SEG* XLIV 773 (Messana, ce., c.300), *SEG* XLIV 773 bis (Messana, ce., c.300), *IG* XIV 401 (Messana, publ.inscr., Hell.) and *IGDS* II 14 (CAT, ded., IV).

of original /a:/. However, Tauromenium, the new city that replaced Naxos, has yielded long inscriptions in a koineized Doric.¹⁸ It seems, then, that Ionic gradually disappeared from the island.

Commentary on an Ionic inscription

IGDS II 15 (HI, ldc., c.500)

This seems to be a fragment of a law concerning the distribution of land. Due to its fragmentary character, the translation is tentative.

[-]εντον *hē*μισχοι[νον]
 ... half a *σχοῖνος*
 [-]εδε τὸν [οι]φοπεδὸν [-]
 ... of the building sites
 λα Δανκλαία ποιῆσαι α[φ]-
 ... from Zancle do as soon as
 αρ ἔ hai φρετριαι α[ν]εδειξα-
 the tribes have displayed
 ν τα καταγεγρα(μ)μενα. I- 5
 the written agreements. If
 αν [δε τι]ς παρ το χαλφῶμα
 one cultivates the land against the dispositions of the copper tablet
 εργασδῆται ἔ το [χ]α[λφ]
 or makes the copper tablet
 [ῶμα] α [αφ]ανες ποιῆσει ἔ θ[ελ]-
 disappear or wants
 [ει λ]αθ[ῆν? τι]ι περι το χα[λφ]-
 that something concerning the copper tablet goes unobserved
 [ῶ]ματο[ς] E.E *Ive/T Yve/Nvel* Λ EIEM ΦIP 10
 [-]IE κακῇ[-]αγαθῇ [- ε]-
 ... good ... bad
 ν τῶι αυτῶ<1> αυτον εχε[ς]-
 let him be in the same situation
 θαι εν *hōi*περ h[ος..] Λ
 in which
 [-]ν γεῆς αναδαιθμῶ
 ... of the distribution of land
 μνῆσεται περι [δ]ε τ- 15
 will remember those who accept (*sc.* the agreements)

¹⁸ See next chapter.

$\delta[\nu]$ δεχο[μεν]ον κατα τ-
according to
 $[\sigma]$ χα[λ]φωμα καρτ-
the copper plate . . . determined
ερο[ς] ENTA ---

This inscription shows the following features:

- *Koppa* used before /o/: [οι] Ὀππεδῶν l. 2, χαλῶμα l. 6, etc.
- Absence of phonetic spellings: Δανκλαία l. 3.
- <ΣΔ> instead of <Ζ> in εργασδῆται l. 7.
- Aspiration preserved: ἡμισχοι[νον] l. 1, ἡδιπερ l. 13.
- <Ε> for original /a/: φρετρια l. 4, κακε [-]αγαθε l. 11, γεες l. 14, μνεσεται l. 15.
- Apocope in παρ το χαλῶμα l. 6.
- Loss of the second element of the long diphthong /ɔ:j/: αὐτῶ <ι> l. 12.
- Nominative plural feminine article ἡαι l. 4.
- Ionic γεες l. 14, from γέη as in Hdt. 4.198, etc. (equiv. Attic γῆ).
- Conditional ιαν l. 5 (equiv. Attic ἐάν).

Inscriptional record in Doric

Despite being the biggest island in the Mediterranean, Doric Sicily has not yielded as many inscriptions as, for example, Crete. Most strikingly, from Syracuse there are very few inscriptions at all (see below). Most Sicilian inscriptions are private in nature (mostly brief dedications, *defixiones*, funerary inscriptions and ownership inscriptions), whereas the public documents are not so numerous (there are some public dedications, coins, *tesserae* and a few laws). The city which has yielded the most important body of inscriptions is Selinous.

The following survey does not include very short inscriptions that do not inform us about the dialect, nor those whose date is unclear, nor the metric dedications, whose dialect is not Doric, nor obviously the non-Greek inscriptions found in Sicily.

Syracuse and its colonies

We have a reduced number of inscriptions, most of them very short, except for Camarina, which, among the Sicilian Corinthian colonies, is the one with the most important inscriptional record.

- Syracuse: The inscriptional evidence is very meagre for a city of such historical importance. The private inscriptions include those on ceramic (*ISic.MG* V 6, and also, although perhaps non-Syracusan, *ISic.MG* V 94–6), some epitaphs (*ISic.MG* V 70, 71, 73, *IGDS* II 39), artists' signatures (*IGDS* I 86) and a dedication (*ISic.MG* V 63). The public inscriptions include dedications (*ISic.MG* V 72), some of them from Olympia and Delphi (*ISic.MG* V 64–7, 69, *SEG* XXX 328 and *IGDS* I 95) and coins (*ISic.MG* V 84–93).
- Heloron: From here come a couple of funerary inscriptions (*ISic.MG* V 74, 75).
- Acrae: We only possess some funerary inscriptions (*ISic.MG* V 76–8) and a weight (*ISic.MG* V 79).
- Casmenae: The documents that have come down to us are a funerary inscription (*ISic.MG* V 80) and a legal text (*IGDS* I 219).
- Camarina (and Morgantina): Most inscriptions are very short. The most informative documents are *defixiones* (*ISic.MG* II² 127–9). Among the private inscriptions, there are a couple of artists' signatures (*ISic.MG* V 81, *IGDS* II 64), ownership inscriptions on pottery (*ISic.MG* II² 125, *IGDS* II 103, 104), funerary inscriptions (*ISic.MG* II² 136, 134), dedications (*IGDS* II 121, *SEG* XXXIV 964), an inscription on a weight (*IGDS* II 48), some *defixiones* (*ISic.MG* II² 127–33) and a contract on lead (*IGDS* II 49). The public inscriptions are the famous *tesserae* (Cordano (1992)) and coins (*ISic.MG* II² 135).
- Area of Syracuse and its colonies: From this area come several inscriptions: from Imachara, an inscribed bronze caduceus (*ISic.MG* V 83); from Hybla Heraia, funerary inscriptions (*ISic.MG* V 97, 98) and an inscription on pottery (*SEG* XLIII 620).

Megarean colonies

- Megara Hyblaea: The documents that we possess are mostly private. The most numerous group is formed by the epitaphs (*ISic.MG* I 2–9, *SEG* XXVI 1093). There are also a couple of dedications (*ISic.MG* I 12, *SEG* XXVI 1100), and a vase inscription of uncertain character (*ISic.MG* I 14). The only public document is a fragment of a law (*ISic.MG* I 13).¹⁹
- Selinous: This is the city with the most abundant and important inscriptional record until the end of the fifth century. Most inscriptions are private in nature. The corpus of *defixiones* is quite remarkable (Bettarini (2005: nos 5, 10–18, 20–29), *IGDS* II 30, *IGDS* I 32, 33, *IGDS* II 36; also Rocca (2007) and (2009)); there are also epitaphs (*ISic.MG*

¹⁹ Its nature as well as its reading has been disputed. For example, G. Manganaro considers it a 'cippo ipotecario': see *SEG* XLVI 1263.

I 15–34, 44–46, *IGDS* I 61, 62, *IGDS* II 20, 25, 23, 24), dedications (*ISic.MG* I 35–43, 47–49, Jordan (1991)^a, *ISic.MG* I 51, *IGDS* I 53, 82, 83, *IGPalermo* 52, *SEG* XXXVI 853, *IGDS* II 22), weights (*ISic.MG* I 56) and inscriptions on vases (*ISic.MG* I 57, 58, *SEG* XLI 835, *IGDS* I 80). There are very few public inscriptions, but they are important, especially the famous *Lex Sacra* (*IGDS* II 18), another text from Olympia (*ISic.MG* I 52) and an oracular inscription (*ISic.MG* I 53). Other public inscriptions include coins (*ISic.MG* I 54 and 55).

Rhodian–Cretan colonies

- Gela and its surrounding region: Nearly all the inscriptions (except for the texts in lead) are very short, so we do not know much about the dialect. The most important body of Geloan inscriptions is collected in *ISic.MG* II² 1–69. They are mostly inscriptions on pottery, most of them dedications or ownership inscriptions (to the inscriptions on *ISic.MG* II², we must also add *SEG* XLIV 751 bis and *IGDS* I 147, *IGDS* II 65, 67, also inscriptions on pottery). There are also a number of weights (*ISic.MG* II² 16, 23b, 26, 58), funerary inscriptions (*ISic.MG* II² 35, 43), an inscription on lead (*IGDS* II 66) and a very short text on gold plate with some personal names (*IGDS* II 68). The public inscriptions are coins (*ISic.MG* II² 66–9).
- Akragas and its surrounding region (Butera, Sabucina, Terravecchia di Cuti, Montagna di Marzo): Most inscriptions are very brief. The only relatively long inscriptions are the *defixiones* and the inscriptions on bronze *IGDS* II 76 and *ISic.MG* II² 119 and perhaps also the pottery inscription *ISic.MG* II² 120. The majority of the inscriptions are of a private nature. The most abundant group are those on pottery, mostly dedications and ownership inscriptions (*ISic.MG* II 98, 98a, 99, II² 137, 98, 99, 100, 103, 104, 106, 107, 108, 120, 121, 122, 124b, *IGDS* I 168d, *IGDS* II 70, II 71). There are other ownership inscriptions on other materials (*ISic.MG* II² 123 and 124a), and some epitaphs on stone (*ISic.MG* II² 88, 101, 102, *IGDS* II 75). There are also inscriptions on weights (*ISic.MG* II² 109–117, *SEG* XLII 876–80, *SEG* XLVI 1295, *IGDS* II 69), amphora stamps (*SEG* XXX I 116), inscriptions on bronze (*ISic.MG* II² 90 and 105 are probably ownership inscriptions; *IGDS* II 76 is a document recording the adoption of three girls; *ISic.MG* II² 119 is a financial inscription and *IGDS* II 74 is an inscribed strigil). There are also two *defixiones* (*IGDS* II 77: inscription on lead; *ISic.MG* II² 118: inscription on bronze). The public documents are dedications on stone coming from Delphi (*ISic.MG* II² 93 and 94) and coins (*ISic.MG* II² 96A, B, C, D, E, F, G, *IGDS* I 181).

Inscriptions from other parts of the island

- Inscriptions from west Sicily: We have two *stelae* from Mytistratos (*IGDS* II 91a and b), a funerary stone from Entella (*IGDS* II 84) and two public inscriptions on caducei from Sichana/Ichana (*IGDS* II 92) and Sipana/Ipana (*IGDS* II 93).
- Centre-East: Terravecchia di Grammichele (region of Catania): From this region come an inscription on bronze (*IGDS* II 95), another on lead (*IGDS* II 98) and inscriptions on pottery (*IGDS* II 96, 97).

Inscriptions of uncertain origin

These include inscriptions on pottery (*ISic.MG* I 74, 80, 78, *ISic.MG* II² 77, 78, *IGDS* I 218, *SEG* XXXVI 888), funerary inscriptions (*ISic.MG* I 79, *IGDS* II 21), a public dedication (*IGDS* I 201) and two inscriptions on lead (a financial record and a *defixio*: *SEG* LVII 905 A and B).

The alphabets used in the Doric colonies

Before discussing the language of the Doric inscriptions of Sicily, a quick word on the alphabets is in order. The local alphabets of Megara Hyblaea and Selinous remained ‘blue’ (with the signs <Φ>, <X>, <Ψ> for /p^h/, /k^h/, /ps/), but the rest of the island soon came to use a standard ‘red’ Doric colonial script, with the complementary signs <X>, <Φ>, <Ψ> for /ks/, /p^h/ and /k^h/ (these were ‘normal’ in the Rhodian–Cretan colonies on account of the Rhodian component, but foreign at Syracuse and its colonies, where we first find the blue alphabet).²⁰

This means that the Rhodian–Cretan colonies clearly exerted some cultural influence over Syracuse and its colonies. In fact, Gela played a very important role in Sicily before the fourth century (it was perhaps the most important city alongside Syracuse). Towards the middle of the fifth century (and in some cities already in the second quarter) the Milesian alphabet starts to be adopted, and by

²⁰ See Johnston (1993–4: 163).

the fourth century there are no more inscriptions in the epichoric alphabets.²¹

The language of the Doric colonies

The knowledge of Sicilian Doric that we gain from the inscriptions is, as was the case with Ionic, somewhat uneven. Due to the limitations of the data we possess, there are areas of the grammar where we are in the dark (for example, the dative plural ending of some stems of the third declension). And, since Selinous is the city that has yielded most inscriptions, certain phenomena appear to be attested only here, with no parallels from other cities (e.g. some examples of crasis). Also, for reasons of space, not every linguistic feature has been included here, but only those of special relevance. Therefore, the reader should not expect a full-fledged grammar covering every aspect of the dialect.

Whenever possible, I quote examples from all cities where a given feature seems to be attested. When the material is too repetitive and does not have much dialectological significance, no examples are given; readers are referred to Mimbrera (2006).

Phonology

- <A> for original /a:/ is universal.
- Mid vowels: results of compensatory lengthenings and isovocalic contractions. Although in archaic times it is usual to find <E> and <O> used to render the result of these lengthenings and contractions of /e/ and /o/, the digraphs <EI> and <OY> are gradually adopted, which indicates that the secondary long vowels were mid-close (/e:/ and /o:/). Therefore Sicilian Doric seems to belong to the Doris *mitior* group (more on this later).
- First compensatory lengthening: We are only informed about the outcome of the simplification of the groups *-sm- and *-ln- (other groups are not represented in our inscriptions or, when they are, <E> and <O> are used to render the resulting long vowel).
- *-sm-. <EI> is used for the verb εἶμι in Selinous, Gela, Entella, Acrae and Casmenae: *ISic.MG* I 16 (SEL, fun., late VII), *ISic.MG* II² 74 (GE, poss., 550–500), *IGDS* II 84 (ENT, VI–V), *ISic.MG* V 77 (Acrae, fun.,

²¹ See next chapter and also Brugnone (1995).

late VI), *ISic.MG* V 80 (CAS, fun., VI), etc. The only exception is the form $\eta\mu\iota$ in *ISic.MG* II² 112 (Terr., weight, 450–400), but <EI> is universal after the fifth century.

- **-In-*: <EI> is used in Μειλιχ- *ISic.MG* I 48 (SEL, ded., 500–450). The form Μιλιχ- with assimilation of /i/²² is attested in Selinous, e.g. *ISic.MG* I 43 (SEL, ded., 550–500), *ISic.MG* I 47 (SEL, ded., early V) etc.
- Second compensatory lengthening: The relevant consonant clusters are not represented in our inscriptions or, when they are (such as *-ns*), <E> and <O> are used to render the resulting long vowel.
- Third compensatory lengthening: We always encounter the graph <E> except in Ξηνιππος *ISic.MG* II² 128 (CAM, def., 460–450), but this person may have been a foreigner (there are other foreign personal names in this inscription). It is probable that there was no third compensatory lengthening in Sicily (if we consider Hellenistic examples).
- Isovocalic contractions:
 - The result of the contraction of /o+o/ is usually rendered with <O>. We find <OY> in just a few inscriptions from many parts of the island: *SEG* LVII 905A.3 (fin., after 470), *ISic.MG* II² 99 (ACR, ce., 450), *ISic.MG* II² 134 (CAM, fun., VI), *ISic.MG* V 76 (Acrae, fun., late VI), *ISic.MG* V 74 (HEL, fun., 500), *ISic.MG* V 80 (CAS, fun., VI), etc.
 - <E> is usually used to render the result of the contraction /e+e/. We find <EI> in: $\lambda\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\iota\nu$ and $\pi\rho\alpha\sigma<\sigma>\epsilon\iota\nu$ Bettarini (2005: no. 28) (SEL, def., late V), $\epsilon\iota\mu\epsilon\iota\nu$ *SEG* LVII 905A (fin., after 470).
- Reflexes of the Proto-Greek vocalic resonants. We always find /a/ or /la/ from **-l-*, /ar/ or /ra/ from **-r-*, and /a/ for **-m-* and **-n-*.²³
- Other facts regarding the short vowels:
 - The form -σεππος (equiv. Attic -σιππη) is attested in the accusative homosepodos *IGDS* II 18.A 3 (SEL, ldc., 480–450), with <E> instead of <I>. However, this is a word of Semitic origin and the interchange of <E> and <I> is common in such words.²⁴
 - Ανγελιος Bettarini (2005: no. 16) (SEL, def., early V) instead of Άγγελιος shows assimilation of /i/ (or is simply a mistake).
 - <Y> instead of <O>: personal name in nominative Μυσχελυσ *ISic.MG* II² 120 (M.d.M., ce., early V), probably with assimilation of /o/ to /u/.
 - The name of Apollo shows *e* vocalism, as expected in Doric, in the dative τοπε<λ>λδων *ISic.MG* V 62 (SYR, sign., VI), cf. *SEG* XLII 846.55 (CAM, tes., 450). But, at the same time, *o* vocalism, due to assimilation, is attested in Απολλων *ISic.MG* I 53 (SEL, orac., 450),

²² See Wackernagel (1909: 328).

²³ For examples, see Mimbrera (2006: 116).

²⁴ See Morpurgo Davies *apud* Jameson, Jordan and Kotansky (1993: 20).

- SEG* XLII 846.129 (CAM, *tes.*, 450), *ISic.MG* V 66 (SYR [Dif.], ded., 480), etc.
- Doric Ἀρταμ- (Attic Ἀρτεμ-) is attested in the personal name Ἀρταμων(ος) Bettarini (2005: no. 5) (SEL, *def.*, late V–IV).
 - The Doric form ἱαρ-, cf. ἱαρός (Attic ἱερός),²⁵ is widely attested in Sicily: *ἱαρον* *ISic.MG* I 35 (SEL, ded., 600–550), cf. *ISic.MG* II² 46a (re. GE, *def.*, 475–450), *IGDS* II 76 (ACR, priv., late V), *ISic.MG* V 65 (SYR [Dif.], ded., 482), etc.
 - The Doric form ἰστία (equiv. Attic ἑστία), with assimilation *e-i* > *i-i* or due to analogy with ἴστημι,²⁶ is attested in *Ἡιστιαρχος* Bettarini (2005: no. 26) (SEL, *def.*, V), etc.
 - The ethnic ‘Syracusan’ always shows <O>. Examples: *Συραφοσιος* *ISic.MG* V 66 (SYR [Dif.], ded., 480), cf. *ISic.MG* V 84 (SYR, coin, 510), *Συρακοσιοι* *ISic.MG* V 67a (SYR [Ol.], ded., 474), etc. <OY> is only attested in *Συρ*αφουσιον *IG* V(1) 217 (SYR [Sp.], ded., late VI).²⁷
 - Diphthongs:
 - /eῖ/ before a vowel. We find <EI> instead of <E> before a vowel in the personal name in the nominative *Νειαδας* *ISic.MG* II² 43 (GE, fun., 500–450). This seems to be a hypercorrect spelling motivated by the loss of the second element of the diphthong before a vowel.²⁸
 - /eῖ/ before a consonant. The diphthong seems to have been pronounced [i:] in the following example, where <I> is used instead of <EI> in the genitive *ἡερακλιδα* *ISic.MG* II² 127 (CAM, *def.*, 480–450).
 - /-eῦ-/ the form *σκεα* *ISic.MG* II² 119.4 (GE-ACR, fin., 500) instead of the expected *σκεῦεα* is probably explained by loss of the second element of the diphthong and then hyphaeresis of the resulting group *-eea-*.
 - <EY> is used instead of <OY> in *σπευδαιστερον* *SEG* LVII 905B.11 (*def.*, after 470) by analogy with *σπεύδω*.
 - Long diphthongs:
 - The second element is sometimes lost. This is quite common in final position: dative *ατελεια* <ι> *SEG* LVII 905B.4 (*def.*, after 470), probably also the subjunctives in third person singular *θυῖ* *ISic.MG* I 13 (MH, ldc., 550), *αγῆ* *IGDS* I 167 (re. GE, ce., early V), unless this preserves the old subjunctive ending **-ēt*. In word-internal position: second person aorist subjunctive *φιγῆς* *ISic.MG* II² 21 (GE, poss.,

²⁵ For the linguistic explanation of these forms, see García Ramón (1992: 194–202).

²⁶ Cf. Schwyzler (1939: 256), Buck (1955: 23).

²⁷ For this, and for the the linguistic explanation of *Συρακόσιος*, see Mimbrera (2006: 162–5).

²⁸ For this phenomenon, see Méndez Dosuna (1991–2: 309–16).

late VI – early V), equiv. Attic θίγῃς, unless this preserves the old subjunctive ending *-ēs.

- Contractions:
 - /a: + ɔ:/: The result is /a:/: The examples are first declension genitive plurals in -αν: e.g. τῶν Κλευλ<λ>ιδαν *ISic.MG* I 41 (SEL, ded., 550), cf. *IGDS* I 219 (CAS, ldc., V).
 - /a + o(:)/: The result is /ɔ:/: e.g. third person plural νικῶντι and first person plural νικῶμες *ISic.MG* I 53 (SEL, orac., 450), participle σιῶπῶσα *ISic.MG* II² 104 (Sabucina, ce., early V). Also numerous personal names in *Σαφο-, such as the nominative Σῶσιος *ISic.MG* II² 43 (GE, fun., 500–450), etc.
 - Contraction /a: + o/. The result is /a:/: as in the genitive Παιανος *ISic.MG* I 36 (SEL, ded., 500–475) from *Παιᾶφονος, and θεαρος *IGDS* II 76 (ACR, priv., late V) from *θεᾶφορος. There are numerous first-declension personal names in the genitive masculine in -a:/ from all parts of Sicily, such as Μνασσανδριδα *ISic.MG* I 21 (SEL, fun., 475–450), etc. The only interesting thing to note is the genitive Αδεινία *ISic.MG* II² 10a (GE, ded., late VI), but also Αδεινίαυ *ISic.MG* II² 10b (GE, ded., late VI), maybe a foreigner.
- Hiatuses:

The following hiatuses occur in Sicilian inscriptions:

- /ea/. This sequence is preserved in the nominative–accusative neuter plural of stems in *-s: επεα Bettarini (2005: no. 15) (SEL, def., VI–V); and in the accusative singular of the stems in *-s: ηερακλεα *ISic.MG* I 53 (SEL, orac., 450), but contracted Ενπεδοκλεν *SEG* LVII 905A.6 (GE, con., 500–475), which also shows -ν through analogy with the accusative of the first and second declensions. In word-internal position, we have the non-contracted genitive νεατας *SEG* XLII 846.109 (CAM, tes., 450), but the contracted νετας *ISic.MG* II² 126.8 (CAM, tes., 450).
- /ea:/. The hiatus is always preserved, e.g. genitive γενεας *ISic.MG* I 69.1 (SEL, def., 450), except in the nominative–accusative plural neuter κρα *IGDS* II 18.A.15 (SEL, ldc., 480–450), from *κρεφασ-α.
- /e + ε:/ always contracts to /ε:/, for example in the nominatives Ξενοκλῆς Bettarini (2005: no. 18) (SEL, def., early V), Τιμοκλῆς *ISic.MG* II² 24 (GE, ded., early V), etc.
 - /eo/
 - /eo/ is preserved in personal names with the first element Θεο-, such as Θεογνίς *ISic.MG* I 15 (SEL, fun., late VII), cf. *ISic.MG* II² 58 (reg. GE, ded., 450–400), but there is hyphaeresis in the personal names with first element νέος: genitive Νεμηνίου *ISic.MG* V 75 (HEL, fun., 400).

- It is preserved in the second declension, e.g. τέλειον *IGDS* II 18.A 13 (SEL, ldc., 480–450). However, there is the dative χ[ρ]υσεῖδ[ι] *ISic.MG* I 53.7 (SEL, orac., 450) ‘gold plaque’, with <EO> instead of <IO>, cf. χρυσίον *ibid.* 10. This seems to be a hypercorrection (motivated by the change /eo/ > /ɛo/ > /i̯o/²⁹).
- It is preserved also in the genitive of the stems in *-s in many parts of the island: ἡ[ἔ]ρακλεος *ISic.MG* I 35 (SEL, ded., 600–550), Τιμονθεος *ISic.MG* II² (GE, ded., early V), Αλκαμενεος *IGDS* II 76 (ACR, priv., late V), cf. *ISic.MG* II² 126.6 (CAM, tes., 450), etc. However, we find <I> instead of <O> in Ε[υ]κ[κ]λιος Bettarini (2005: no. 16.6) (SEL, def., early V) alongside Ευκλεος *ibid.* 1, and Αριστοφάνιος *ibid.* 2 alongside Αριστοφάνεος *ibid.* 7. These are perhaps examples of the change /eo/ > /ɛo/ > /i̯o/.
- /i̯o/
 - This hiatus is preserved, except in Δινυσίος *SEG* XLII 846.103 (CAM, tes., 450), which, if it is not a simple graphical error, could be an example of hyphaeresis; it could even be explained from **Di(u)i-*.³⁰
- /oa/
 - This sequence is left uncontracted in the accusative ογδοαν *ISic.MG* I 13 (MH, ldc., 550), but contraction to /ɔ:/ is attested in the genitive plural Γελῶν *ISic.MG* II² 16 (GE, poss., early V), etc., from Γελοῖος, and also in the accusative participle θῶκεοντα *SEG* LVII 905A.4 (fin., after 470), the equivalent of Attic θακέω (cf. θῶκος, probably from *θῶφακος).
- /oe/
 - The hiatus is preserved in Σ[ε]λινοε[ντι] *ISic.MG* I 52 (SEL [Ol.], ldc., VI–V), but the ethnic shows <O>, either through hyphaeresis of /e/ or contraction of /o + e/ to /o:/: Σελινοντίος *ISic.MG* I 33 (SEL, fun., before 450), cf. *ISic.MG* I 53 (SEL, orac., 450), etc.
- /oe:/
 - The result of the contraction is /o:/ (<O>): Σελινῶς *ISic.MG* I 54 (SEL, coin, 467), from Σελινόεις.
- *Wau*:
 - The *digamma* is still used to render *wau* in initial position, although at the end of the sixth century we encounter the first cases of non-notation. Examples: Φοικει *ISic.MG* I 52 (SEL [Ol.], ldc., VI–V), the personal name Φι[α]ν[θ]ις *ISic.MG* V 94 (SYR, ce., VI–V), Φοινανθα *ISic.MG* I 80 (ce., VII–VI), etc. We find non-notation of the *digamma* in the genitive plural κέπτεον και εργον *SEG* LVII

²⁹ For this change, see Méndez Dosuna (1993a).³⁰ See García Ramón (1987).

- 905B.4 (*def.*, after 470), the accusative εϕοντα *ibid.*, εργα και επεα Bettarini (2005: no. 15) (SEL, *def.*, VI–V), etc.
- Forms with <H> to render the sound left after the loss of **u*-. The use of <H> is probably explained by analogy with forms with **su*-. Examples: ηεμα IGDS II 18.A.14 (SEL, *ldc.*, 480–450), equiv. Attic εἶμα (<*Fέσμα), ηιστιαρχ<ο>ς Bettarini (2005: no. 14) (SEL, *def.*, V), ηικατι ISic.MG II² 119.5 (GE-ACR, *fin.*, 500), cf. ISic.MG II² 126.11 (CAM, *tes.*, 450). <F> is attested instead of <H> (a hypercorrection) in Φαγιαδα ISic.MG II² 102 (GE-ACR, *fun.*, late VI – early V), cf. Attic ἡγέομαι.
 - Word-internal **u*-.: this was lost earlier than *u*- in initial position. We never find <F> and sometimes the vowels left in contact after the loss of *wau* have contracted.³¹
 - The *digamma* is used to render the second element of a diphthong in -*u*-.: genitive Λεφκανας IGDS II 20 (SEL, *fun.*, 600). It is used to render a glide in the dative Μοτυφαι ISic.MG I 18 (SEL, *fun.*, 550), the genitive Ευφαρχ[ō] ISic.MG II² 13 (GE, *ded.*, late VI) and the dative πεντε]ϕοστυφι IGDS II 49 (CAM, *con.*, VI²).
 - Aspiration:
 - Sometimes <H> is attested in the interior of a word and not only in initial position, which may indicate the resilience of the aspiration, e.g. the imperative εξh<α>ρηετō IGDS II 18.A 18 (SEL, *ldc.*, 480–450), the personal name (in the genitive) Ευχορη SEG XLII 846.63 (CAM, *tes.*, 450), etc. The aspiration is also graphically rendered in the imperatives καθαιρεσθō IGDS II 18.B.3 (SEL, *ldc.*, 480–450) and καθευδετō *ibid.* 6. It is also indicated in external *sandhi* in χōντινα IGDS II 18.B8 (SEL, *ldc.*, 480–450) from κα ὄντινα, etc.
 - There are some examples where aspiration is not indicated in inscriptions written in the epichoric alphabets, which has parallels in other dialects. Some of them are:³² οιτινες SEG LVII 905B.6 (*def.*, after 470), οτι ISic.MG II² 119 (GE-ACR, *fin.*, 500), the nominative masculine definite article ο ISic.MG V 67a and 67b (SYR [Ol.], *ded.*, 474) (but cf. ηιαρōν *ibid.*), the personal name (in the genitive) Ερμαῖō IGDS II 76 (ACR, *priv.*, late V), the nominative Ερακλῆς ISic.MG II² 98 (Butera, *ded.*, late VI), Ιηπποκρ[ατῆς] SEG XLII 846.14 (CAM, *tes.*, 450) and the accusative εϕοντα SEG LVII 905B.2 (*def.*, after 470), from ἐκών.
 - The numerals ηενατας (in the genitive) ISic.MG II² 126.12b (CAM, *tes.*, 450) and ηογδ<ο>α SEG XLII 846.78, 95 (CAM, *tes.*, 450) may have acquired their aspiration by analogy with other numerals

³¹ See examples in Mimbrera (2006: 113–14).

³² For this phenomenon, see Mimbrera (2006: 169–73).

where it was etymological, such as ἑπτὰ.³³ As for *hikas* *ISic.MG* II² 126.11 (CAM, *tes.*, 450), see under *wau*.

- Liquids and nasals:
 - <MH> and <ΛH> are used in the dative Μηεγα[ρει] *ISic.MG* I 52 (SEL [Ol.], *ldc.*, VI–V) and the participle *hυπολθειψας* *IGDS* II 18.A 10 (SEL, *ldc.*, 480–450). Since there was no **sm*- or **sl*- in these words that would justify such spellings, we must suppose that they are analogical after forms which did start with **sm*- and **sl*.
 - Metathesis of liquids is fairly common: γαρϕῶ *SEG* LVII 905B.14 (*def.*, after 470), genitive τετρατας *ISic.MG* II² 126.1 (CAM, *tes.*, 450), but τεταρτας *ibid.* 2.
 - Dissimilation of sequences of two liquids is also quite common: genitive φατρας *ISic.MG* II² 126.16 (CAM, *tes.*, 450), nominative φρατα *SEG* XLII 846.16 (CAM, *tes.*, 450), but the expected φράτρα is attested in *ibid.* 18.
 - Omission of /n/ before a stop. The nasal /n/ is sporadically omitted before a dental stop, although this probably does not mean that it was not pronounced:³⁴ e.g. Σελινο<ν>τιος *ISic.MG* I 55 (SEL, *coin*, 467), participle αννεμο<ν>τα *ISic.MG* II² 120 (M.d.M., *ce.*, early V), etc. This is also attested in *sandhi*, e.g. accusative Νανερο<ν> τον Bettarini (2005: no. 23.4) (SEL, *def.*, 475–450), etc.
 - *-lt-* > *-nt-*: the only assured examples of this alleged change are the accusative φιντιονα *SEG* LVII 905B.2 (*def.*, after 470), which corresponds to Attic φίλτερον, and the personal names in Φιντ-, which are attested all over the island: genitive Φιντια Rocca (SEL, *def.*, *arch.*), cf. *SEG* XLII 846.71 (CAM, *tes.*, 450), etc.
 - **-mr-*: Absence of epenthetic consonant in the genitive Σῶμροτιδα *ISic.MG* I 3 (MH, *fun.*, 550) instead of the expected Σῶμβροτιδα, probably a mechanical error by the engraver.
- Stops:
 - Labiovelars. The outcome of the labiovelars is identical to that found in Attic.³⁵
 - Voiceless stop instead of an aspirate. The occurrence of a voiceless stop instead of an aspirate, as in the adverb ενταδε *SEG* LVII 905B.11 (*def.*, after 470), indicates that aspirates remained stops and had not become spirants.
 - Aspirates in consecutive syllables. Grassmann's Law applies in the personal name Αφαιστιου[Bettarini (2005: no. 12) (SEL, *def.*, V),

³³ For examples in other dialects, see Buck (1955: 53–5).

³⁴ See Mimbrela (2006: 101–2). ³⁵ For examples, see Mimbrela (2006: 63–7).

- cf. Bettarini (2005: no. 2) (SEL, *def.*, 450). Seeming cases of non-application of this law, such as *ενθαφιον* *ISic.MG* II² 11 (GE, *ded.*, VI), are best explained as assimilations at a time when the law had already ceased to apply. The application of Grassmann's Law is blocked in *εχεχεριος* *IGDS* II 18.A 7 (SEL, *ldc.*, 480–450) 'truce' (equiv. Attic *ἐκεχειρία*), since there originally was a word boundary between the two compositional members.
- Confusion of <Θ> and <Φ>. This is attested in Gela and Akragas, e.g. second person aorist subjunctive *φιγῆς* *ISic.MG* II² 21 (GE, *poss.*, late VI – early V), equiv. Attic *θίγης*; *φιασος* *ISic.MG* II² 41 (GE, *ded.*, 500–450), equiv. Attic *θίασος*, the personal name (in genitive) *Πσιφυρῶ* *IGDS* II 76 (ACR, *priv.*, late V), equiv. Attic *ψίθυρος*, etc. However, there is no confusion in *Λυκοφ[ρῶν]* *ISic.MG* II² 48 (GE, *poss.*, 480–450) or in the area of Gela, e.g. *]εσμοφορ[* *ISic.MG* II² 46b (Bitalemi, *ded.*, early V), *οφέλει* *ISic.MG* II² 119 (GE-ACR, *fin.*, 500). The same phenomenon is also sporadically attested in other areas of the Greek world³⁶ and has been interpreted as a sign of the spirantization of /t^h/ (<Θ>) and /p^h/ (<Φ>).³⁷ However, it may be a purely graphic phenomenon due to the resemblance of the letters (<Θ>) and (<Φ>).
 - Dental stop before /i/. -τι is maintained in the numeral *ἑκατι*, the preposition *ποτί* and the endings *-ti and *-nti. (See the corresponding sections for examples.)
 - Stop before stop. Assimilation occurs in *μέχφερετῶ* *IGDS* II 18.A 20 (SEL, *ldc.*, 480–450) from *μη ἐκφερέτω*, and the infinitive *καθθεμεν* *ISic.MG* I 53.10 (SEL, *orac.*, 450).
 - Stop before a sibilant. A sibilant between voiceless stops can cause aspiration,³⁸ as in *εχθος* *SEG* LVII 905B.6 (*def.*, after 470) from *ἐκσ-τός, cf. Attic *ἐκτός*.
 - Stop before a liquid. Assimilation of voice (/kr-/ > /gr-/) occurs in *houγριτῶ* *ISic.MG* I 12 (MH, *ded.*, early V), if this corresponds to *ὁ Εὐκρίτου*.
 - Sibilants:
 - <σσ> before a stop. This is a common occurrence in many Greek dialects, and reflects the fact that sibilants in this context were ambisyllabic,³⁹ e.g. relative pronoun *ἡσστις* Bettarini (2005: no. 28) (SEL, *def.*, late V), personal name (in accusative) *Μυσσκελον* *ibid.*, personal name *Εξακεστος* *ISic.MG* II² 51 (GE, *poss.*, 450), personal name *Ανκισσκος* *IGDS* II 61a (CAM, *def.*, V), etc. Also, in *sandhi*, accusative *τῶς τῆνει* *SEG* LVII 905B.7 (*def.*, after 470).

³⁶ For examples from Attic, see Threatch (1980: 470–1).

³⁷ See Arena (1966–7). ³⁸ See Schwyzler (1939: 326).

³⁹ See Méndez Dosuna (1985: 373–89).

- Sibilant before semivowel (**sy-*). The result of the evolution of this group gave rise to a sound similar to [h], therefore <H> could be used to render it, cf. the numeral *ἑκτα* *SEG XLII* 846.26 (CAM, *tes.*, 450). However it was perhaps not completely identical to [h], since it could be written without <H>, cf. *ἐξέκ[οντα]* *ISic.MG I* 53.11 (SEL, *orac.*, 450).
- Other phenomena relating to consonantism:
 - The verb *δέκομαι* (equiv. Attic *δέχομαι*) is used in *ὑπποδεκομενος* *IGDS II* 18.B4 (SEL, *ldc.*, 480–450).
- Changes in external combination:
 - Apocope
 - Apocope is frequent in our inscriptions, e.g. the infinitive *καθήμεν* *ISic.MG I* 53 (SEL, *orac.*, 450), *παρ Καλλία* *IGDS II* 74 (M.d.M., *priv.*, c. 400), and perhaps also *ἡοκα* *IGDS II* 18.A.8 (SEL, *ldc.*, 460–450), if this corresponds to *ὄκκα* <ὄκα κα.
 - Elision
 - There is nothing remarkable about elision in Sicilian Greek: it follows the same rules as in Attic.
 - Crasis
 - The result of crasis is the same as the result of the contraction of vowels.

Nominal morphology

- Thematic declension
 - The old dative and locative plural ending -οισι is attested in *ἄθανα-τοισι* *IGDS II* 18.B13 (SEL, *ldc.*, 480–450), and apparently also in *ἀνφο]τεροισι θεοι[σι* *ISic.MG I* 78 (*ded.*, late VII).
- Athematic declension
 - Dative plural: The ending -εσσι is attested for stems in stops, e.g. *ποτῆριδε[σσ]ι* *IGDS II* 18.A 15 (SEL, *ldc.*, 480–450), *ibid.* 15, *Ευμενιδε(σ)σι* *IGDS II* 18.A 10 (SEL, *ldc.*, 480–450), *γυναικεσσι* *SEG LVII* 905B.12 (*def.*, after 470), and also for stems in liquids: *ἀνδρεσι* *SEG LVII* 905B.12 (*def.*, after 470), where the geminate is sometimes rendered as a single consonant. In the *-s stems: *ἡῆρῶε(σ)σι* *ibid.* This ending did not spread to the stems in *-ēy- or to *πᾶσι*: *Τριτοπατρευσι* *IGDS II* 18.A 10 (SEL, *ldc.*, 480–450), *πᾶσι* *IGDS II* 30 (SEL, *def.*, 475–450).⁴⁰ The ending -εσσι was apparently used instead of -σι because the ending -σι, when attached to certain consonant stems, gave rise to phonetic changes which obscured the shape of the stem. The ending -εσσι may have arisen through the following analogical proportion: *λύκοι* : *λύκοισι* :: *ἀγῶνες* : *ἀγῶνεσσι*.⁴¹

⁴⁰ See Mimbrera (2006: 206–8).

⁴¹ See Wackernagel (1903: 967–9).

- Stems in *-s: the accusative Ἐνπεδοκλῆν *SEG* LVII 905A.6 (fin., after 470) shows -ν by analogy with the accusative of the first and second declensions.
- Stems in *-i: the stem is a constant -ι-, as attested by the numerous examples of genitive in -ιος from all parts of the island, e.g. Ἀριστίος *ISic.MG* I 24 (SEL, fun., 450), Ἀπελλίος *SEG* LVII 905B.7 (def., after 470), Μελανθίος *ISic.MG* II² 128 (CAM, def., 460–450) etc. NB also the personal name (in dative) Ρῶμι *ISic.MG* II² 125 (CAM, ded., 500–450).
- Stems in *-u: the stem is a constant -υ-. Examples: genitive Θρασυός *SEG* XLII 846.2 (CAM, tes., 450), dative Πεντε|ῤοστυφι *IGDS* II 49 (CAM, con., VI²).
- Stems in *-ēu-: the genitive singular is in -εος, as in the personal name Καλεός *IGDS* II 29 (SEL, def., late VI – early V).
- Stems in *-oi-: The nominative singular is in -ώι (by analogy with the vocative -οι): Τιμασώι Bettarini (2005: no. 20) (SEL, def., early V), Συφῶι *ISic.MG* V 78 (Acrae, fun., 500), cf. *IGDS* II 61b (CAM, def., late V) etc. The only examples with nominative in -ώ are Κλεοννῶ *IGDS* I 32 (SEL, def., early V), Σαισῶ *ISic.MG* II² 119 (GE-ACR, fin., 500). The dative singular Σελινωί Bettarini (2005: no. 28) (SEL, def., late V) is probably analogical after the nominative (or it may be the dative of a masculine nominative Σέλινος).
- Article: As expected, we find the nominative plural τοί (equiv. Attic οἱ), e.g. *ISic.MG* I 52 (SEL [Ol.], ldc., VI–V), *IGDS* II 91b (Mytistratos, ded.?, V), *ISic.MG* V 67a (SYR [Ol.], ded., 474), etc.
- Demonstrative pronouns: The only forms worth commenting on are the nominative plural τοῦτοι (equiv. Attic οὗτοι), *ISic.MG* I 52d-e-f.6 (SEL [Ol.], ldc., VI–V), and the genitive plural τῶνδον (equiv. Attic ἐκείνων) in Bettarini (2005: no. 20) (SEL, def., early V), *SEG* LVII 905B.5 (def., after 470), etc.
- Relative pronouns: The masculine pronoun ὅς is attested in Megara Hyblaea and Selinous (for example, the masculine nominative ἡός *ISic.MG* I 13 (MH, ldc., 550), *ISic.MG* I 18 (SEL, fun., 550), etc.), and there is no sign that the article was used as a relative pronoun. The relative pronoun ἡοπείος *IGDS* II 18.B2, B3 (SEL, ldc., 480–450) seems to be equivalent to Attic ὁποῖος.⁴² The existence of a pronoun οσοῖος *IGDS* II 77 (ACR, def., late VI – early V) is doubtful.
- Reflexive pronoun: The genitive plural feminine reflexive pronoun αὐταυτάν *ISic.MG* II² 119 (GE-ACR, fin., 500) comes from αὐτὸς αὐτόν.
- Numerals: Among the numerals, the forms worthy of mention are the following. ‘Four’: τετορες *ISic.MG* II² 137 (Vassallaggi, com.,

⁴² See Mimbrera (forthcoming).

420), cf. Attic τέτταρες. ‘Twenty’: ηικάτι *ISic.MG* II² 119.5 (GE-ACR, fin., 500), ηίκας *ISic.MG* II² 126.11 (CAM, *tes.*, 450), cf. Attic εἴκοσι. ‘First’: πρώτος, cf. Attic πρώτος: personal name (in genitive) Πρατῆς *IGDS* 218 (provenance unknown, ce., V), cf. *ISic.MG* II² 126.11 (CAM, *tes.*, 450), etc. ‘Seventh’: feminine nominative ἑβ[δ]εμα *ISic.MG* II² 126.11 (CAM, *tes.*, 450), cf. Attic ἑβδομος. ‘Thirteenth, fourteenth, etc.’: we find τρίτας ἐπὶ δεκά *SEG* XLII 846 (CAM, *tes.*, 450), etc., in the group of *tesserae* from Camarina, instead of the expected τρίτος καὶ δέκατος or τρισκαίδέκατος.

- Prepositions

The following prepositions occur in the inscriptions:

- ἐς (equiv. Attic εἰς): *ISic.MG* I 52 (SEL [Ol.], ldc., VI–V), *ISic.MG* II² 120 (M.d.M., ce., early V), etc.
- πεδᾶ (equiv. Attic μετὰ): *IGDS* II 18.A 20 (SEL, ldc., 480–450), infinitive πεδειμ[εν] *IGDS* I 219 (CAS, ldc., V).
- ποτί (equiv. Attic πρὸς): imperative ποταγοῦσθῶ *IGDS* II 18.B6 (SEL, ldc., 480–450), ποτ’ Ἐνπεδοκλῆν *SEG* LVII 905A (fin., after 475), etc.

- Adverbs

The following forms are noteworthy:

- Adverbs in -κα: ἡοκ(κ)α *IGDS* II 18.A 8 (SEL, ldc., 480–450), from ὅκα κα.
- Adverbs in -θε and -τός: προσθε *ISic.MG* I 52d-e-f.5 (SEL [Ol.], ldc., VI–V), εχθος *ibid.* 6, from *ἔκσ-τός.
- Adverbs with old case endings: τῆναι *SEG* LVII 905B.7 (*def.*, after 470), οἰῶι *IGDS* II 18.A.21 (SEL, ldc., 480–450), παντῆ *SEG* LVII 905B.13 (*def.*, after 470), ἡοπῆ *IGDS* II 18.B6 (SEL, ldc., 480–450), ἡὸσπερ *IGDS* II 18.A.10, 17, B.12 (SEL, ldc., 480–450).
- Other adverbs: αἰ *SEG* LVII 905B.13 (*def.*, after 470).

- Particles

- Modal particle κα (equiv. Attic ἄν): *ISic.MG* I 52 (SEL [Ol.], ldc., VI–V), *ISic.MG* II² 119 (GE-ACR, fin., 500), *ISic.MG* II² 120 (M.d.M., ce., early V), *IGDS* I 219 (CAS, ldc., V), etc.
- Negation: the negation οὐ, instead of the expected μή, is used with an imperative in οὐ ῥόλυεσθῶν *ISic.MG* I 52d-e-f.5 (SEL [Ol.], ldc., VI–V). There do not appear to be any parallels elsewhere in Greek.

- Conjunctions

- Conditional conjunction αἰ: Bettarini (2005: no. 5) (SEL, *def.*, late V–IV), *ISic.MG* II² 120 (M.d.M., ce., early V), *IGDS* I 219 (CAS, ldc., V), *ISic.MG* I 13 (MH, ldc., 550), etc.

- Word order: αἰ τὶ κ[α] *ISic.MG* I 52 (SEL [Ol.], ldc., VI–V), cf. *IGDS* II 18.B 7 (SEL, ldc., 480–450).

Verbal morphology

- Aorist
 - Athematic aorist: We find the third person plural ἀνεθηκαν *IGDS* II 91b (Mytistratos, ded.?, V) and the third person singular middle ἐθηκατο *IGDS* II 76 (ACR, priv., late V), with secondary introduction of the full grade and the element *-k-*, instead of the expected ἔθετο, ἀνέθεν.
 - Sigmatic aorist: The verbs in *-ζω* form an aorist in *-ξα*: κἀκρατιξασθαι *IGDS* II 18.B4 (SEL, ldc., 480–450), διοριξας *ibid.* B11. The only exception is ἐψαφισαν[το] *IGDS* I 219 (CAS, ldc., V), perhaps due to supradialectal influences.
 - Aorist of κατακαίω: This is attested in the imperative κατακααντῶ *IGDS* II 18.A 16 (SEL, ldc., 480–450), and the infinitive κα[τα]κααι *ibid.* 19. These forms can be interpreted either as root aorists or as sigmatic formations.⁴³
- Perfect
 - The third person plural perfect γεγραβεται *ISic.MG* II² 128 (CAM, def., 460–450) shows instead of <Φ>. There may have been an analogical interchange with perfects built to roots in other labial stops, due to the ambiguous forms where the difference between stem-final π β φ was neutralized (for example, perfect forms ending in *-πται* or aorist forms with *-ψ-*).
- Present

Athematic presents:

- The form ενο *ISic.MG* II² 137 (Vassallaggi, com., 420), is equivalent to Attic ἔνεστι, cf. also *Pseudepicharmea* 244.5. This was apparently a Doric feature, cf. *Epim.Hom.*ε 186, and may have been created by analogy with ἄπτο (also attested in Doric, cf. Timocr. 9 W).

Presents in **-γ^{e/o}-*:

- The verb κομίω, attested in the imperative κ]ομιεσθῶ *ISic.MG* I 52 (SEL [Ol.], ldc., VI–V) is a *hapax* (cf. Attic κομίζω). It may be a denominative built to a form **κόμις*, *-ιος* or **κομῖς*, *-ίος*.
- The present καταλάζομαι, attested in the imperfect κατελαζετο *SEG* LVII 905A.3 (fin., after 470), is also a *hapax*.
- The aorist imperative καταλιναντῶ *IGDS* II 18.A.13, 16 (SEL, ldc., 480–450) corresponds to a present **καταλίνω* ‘anoint’.

Presents in *-έω* and *-άω*:

- The optative διΐοιτο *IGDS* II 77 (ACR, def., late VI – early V) comes from a hypothetical **δικάομαι*.

⁴³ See Hettrich (1976: 57, n. 20).

- The aorist subjunctive διαιτῆσ[ε] *ISic.MG* I 52 h5 (SEL [Ol.], ldc., VI–V) comes from a present διαιτέω instead of the regular διαιτάω. The passage of verbs in -άω to -έω is frequent in Greek,⁴⁴ but is not attested elsewhere in Sicily in this period.
- The regular inflection in -άω is attested in the nominative feminine participle σιῶπῶσα *ISic.MG* II² 104 (interior of Sicily, ce., early V), the aorist infinitive ἐνγύασσασθαι *SEG* LVII 905A.2 (fin., after 470), etc.
- The infinitives φιλεῖσαν *SEG* LVII 905B.3 (*def.*, after 470) and νικᾶν *ibid.* 13 instead of the expected φιλητῆν and νικῆν can be explained as examples of an inflection in -ᾶω. However, it could also be the case that /a + e:/ yields /a:/ in Sicily (we have no more examples of this contraction in this period).
- Future:
 - Future in -ξ- of verbs in -ζω: third person singular πυγίξει *ISic.MG* II² 120 (GE-ACR, ce., early V).
- Moods:

Subjunctive

- The third person singular θυῆ *ISic.MG* I 13 (MH, ldc., 550), αἰεῖ *IGDS* I 167 (re. GE, ce., early V), φιλεῖ *ibid.*, etc. may have <E> due to loss of the second element of the long diphthong /ε:ĩ/, or may be old subjunctive forms in *-ē_t. The first option is more likely, in view of the forms προχῶρεῖ *IGDS* II 18.A.22 (SEL, ldc., 480–450), χρῆζει *ibid.* B.12.
- The form ποτεῖ *IGDS* II 18.A 8 (SEL, ldc., 480–450) may be a third person singular subjunctive that corresponds to Attic προσίη. In this case, it would show full degree of the root *es- and, in the ending, loss of the second element of the diphthong /ε:ĩ/ (unless it is an old subjunctive in *-ē_t). However, it could also be an optative ποτεῖη, cf. Attic προσεῖναι, which seems to be preferable from the point of view of the meaning.
- The subjunctive of the verb λᾶν ‘want’ is attested in both contracted and uncontracted forms:⁴⁵ third person singular λῆι *Bettarini* (2005: no. 15) (SEL, *def.*, VI–V), λῆι *IGDS* II 18.A 20 (SEL, ldc., 480–450), *ibid.* B.2, λ<ē>ι *ibid.* B.3, third person plural λῆο[ντι] *ISic.MG* I 52b (SEL [Ol.], ldc., VI–V), λ[ῶ]ντι *ISic.MG* I 52 d-e-f (SEL [Ol.], ldc., VI–V), λῶντι *IGDS* I 32 (SEL, *def.*, early V).

⁴⁴ See Buck (1955: 125).

⁴⁵ See Mimbrera (2006: 310) and Meier-Brügger (1981: 199).

Imperative

- The imperative shows two noteworthy features in Sicilian Greek. Firstly, if the reading is correct, the third person plural imperative εστῶσσαν (from εἰμί) *ISic.MG* II² 119 (GE-ACR, fin., 500) shows an Ionic ending, in an otherwise Doric inscription. Secondly, there are two endings for the imperative of the middle voice, -σθων and -σθω: ῥολευ[εσ]θῶν *ISic.MG* I 52d-e-f-5 (SEL [Ol.], ldc. VI–V), from κωλύω, and the aorist γευσθῶ *SEG* LVII 905A.7 (fin., after 470).
- Endings:
 - There is no assibilation in the third person singular ending -τι, e.g. ἀποδιδοῖτι *ISic.MG* II² 120 (M.d.M., ce., early V), nor in the third person plural ending -ντι: aor.subj. ὀφελῆσδόντι Bettarini (2005: no. 13) (SEL, *def.*, c. 500), ὀφῆλοντι *ISic.MG* II² 119 (GE-ACR, fin., 500) etc.
 - Athematic infinitive: The ending is <-MEN> in Selinous and Syracuse. <-MEN> and <-MEIN> are both attested in an inscription of unknown provenance: e.g. καθθεμεν, ἑ]μεν *ISic.MG* I 53 (SEL, orac., 450), ἑμεν *ISic.MG* V 94 (SYR, ce., VI–V); εἰμειν *SEG* LVII 905A.3 (fin., after 470), ἑμεν *SEG* LVII 905B.2 (*def.*, after 470).
 - The third person plural optative forms ἀφικνοῖατο and ἐρυσσαιντο *SEG* LVII 905B.11, 13 (*def.*, after 470) show two different endings after a semivowel. The ending -ντο is usually found after a vowel, and -ατο usually after a consonant. Since a semivowel is somewhere between a vowel and a consonant, this explains why both endings could have been used.

Syntax

- The only feature worth mentioning is the usage of a nominative]γρ[ψα]ντες *ISic.MG* I 53.10 (SEL, orac., 450) which refers to the subject (in accusative!) of an infinitive, due to anacoluthon.

Sicilian Doric before the fourth century: an appraisal

As we have seen, the basic features of Sicilian Greek during this period are typical of the dialects of the West Greek group.

Intradialectal geography

There are hardly any signs of intradialectal differentiation, which must be attributed to the nature of the data we possess (very often

a given feature is found in one city but not in others) and to the fact that all non-Ionic Sicilian colonies were founded by speakers of the same dialectal group. We encounter very few features where there is divergence and, in most cases, there are not enough examples to back the claim that there were significant intradialectal differences. They are:

- Possible fricativization of [t^h] (<Θ>) and [p^h] (<Φ>) in Gela, but not at Selinous or Camarina, deduced from the use of <Φ> instead of <Θ> in Gela.⁴⁶ However, this could well be a purely graphic phenomenon, the shape of the letters being very similar. Therefore this does not constitute an assured example of intradialectal differentiation.
- /eo/ > /ɛo/ > /i̯o/ in Selinous, whereas in Gela and Camarina the hiatus is maintained. This was probably an *allegro* pronunciation. It seems clear that this feature of the spoken language has crept into some written documents. However, this does not necessarily mean that there really was any dialectal difference between the cities in this respect, especially since the material is limited:⁴⁷ it could be a sporadic phenomenon and not a regular feature.
- /eḯ/ > /i:/ in Camarina (<I> is used instead of <EI>), but not in Selinous or Gela. The situation is the same as for the alleged change /eo/ > /ɛo/ > /i̯o/; there is no proof that this represents genuine dialectal divergence.⁴⁸
- Accusative singular of personal names in -κλῆς in <-εα> in Selinous but in <-εν> in Gela. Again, the evidence is scanty.⁴⁹
- Inflection in -ᾰω in the Sicilian hinterland, and in Acragas, Selinous and Himera, but possible traces of inflection in -ᾰ̣ω in an inscription of unknown provenance (*SEG* LVII 905B), where, however, it is not clear whether the outcome of the contraction of /a + e:/ was /a:/ in Sicily. If this is the case, then there would be no inflection in -ᾰ̣ω. This feature therefore may not be useful for the purposes of intradialectal geography.
- Imperative of the middle voice in -σθω in Gela but in -σθων in Selinous (only one example of each form).⁵⁰

As can be seen, it is not possible to detect significant intradialectal differences in Sicily due to the nature of the data we possess.

⁴⁶ For examples, see under 'Stops' (Phonology).

⁴⁷ For examples, see the relevant section under 'Phonology'.

⁴⁸ For examples, see the relevant section under 'Phonology'.

⁴⁹ For examples, see the relevant section under 'Phonology'.

⁵⁰ See the corresponding section under 'Verbal morphology'.

Evidence of dialect convergence

There is a set of features which are particularly important for the question of dialect convergence within Sicilian Doric, since they were apparently not common to all the Doric dialectal groups:

- *mitior* vocalism, that is, long close mid vowels for the results of the first and second compensatory lengthenings and the isovocalic contractions
- the athematic dative plural ending -εσσιν.

These features deserve special attention. To tackle *mitior* vocalism first, Bartoněk (1973) argues that *mitior* vocalism⁵¹ is not to be expected in the Rhodian–Cretan colonies, which should have had a vowel system of the *media* type.⁵² According to him, the existence of *mitior* vocalism in these colonies must be due to foreign influence. Since Syracuse was the most important Sicilian *polis* and had historical contacts with Gela, Bartoněk concludes that this influence must have been Syracusan.⁵³ This is the evidence on which he bases his theory of dialect convergence.

This claim is open to criticism. To begin with, this theory is mainly based on historical facts whereas the linguistic evidence is limited to the vocalism. Not only is the evidence scanty, but probably also misleading. In fact, there is no inscriptional evidence to back Bartoněk's claim that the Rhodian–Cretan colonies had a vowel system of the *media* type: we only find the graphs <E> and <O> until <EI>, <OY> start to be used around the fourth century (that is, we never find <H> or <Ω> for these vowels). What is more, it is not at all certain that the *media* type vocalism is to be expected in the Rhodian–Cretan colonies: it is probable that all dialects of the *media* (or *severior*)⁵⁴ type come from an earlier

⁵¹ *Mitior* dialects are those with secondary close long mid vowels arising from compensatory lengthening and the contraction of identical mid vowels (εἶμεν, βουλή/-ά, φέρουσα, τιθείς, φέρειν, τοῦ λόγου). See Ahrens (1843: 5) and Bartoněk (1972: 96–123).

⁵² *Media* type dialects are those with some secondary open long mid vowels (ἤμεν, βωλή/-ά, φέρωσα, τιθής, φέρειν, τοῦ λόγου). For this see Bartoněk (1972: 96–123).

⁵³ This view is accepted by Willi (2008: 46–7).

⁵⁴ The *Doris media* dialects had some secondary open long mid vowels, whereas the *Doris severior* dialects had only secondary open long mid vowels.

phase with *mitior* vocalism.⁵⁵ Thus, the existence of *mitior* vocalism in the Rhodian–Cretan colonies is not proof of a hypothetical Syracusan-based koina.

As for the dative plural athematic ending $-\epsilon\sigma\sigma\iota$, this is a possible example of a linguistic feature which originated in Syracuse and its colonies, but spread to other Sicilian cities by the fourth century. It is typical of all Corinthian colonies outside Sicily, and is attested in Selinous and Gela in the consonant and liquid stems, and in Selinous also in the masculine *s*-stems. It is tempting to suppose that this feature spread from Syracuse, which was a Corinthian colony.⁵⁶ Unfortunately, however, neither Syracuse nor its colonies provide any data regarding the dative plural athematic ending before the fourth century. Therefore, it is not possible to prove the supposition that the dative plural ending $-\epsilon\sigma\sigma\iota$ spread from Syracuse. However, it seems unlikely that the presence of the athematic ending $-\epsilon\sigma\sigma\iota$ in both Selinous and Gela is the result of independent developments.

Towards dialect convergence

As we have seen, Sicily's complicated history caused a great mixture of the population. Inevitably this had linguistic consequences. We know that the Sicilian Ionic colonies gave up their Ionic dialect in favour of a Doric-based variety. It seems likely that the Sicilian Doric dialects were also affected by the same events. Thus, on purely historical grounds, it seems plausible that there was some linguistic convergence among them.

Admittedly, there is not much linguistic data to support the view that there was dialect convergence before the fourth century (as discussed above, the evidence is effectively limited to the datives in $-\epsilon\sigma\sigma\iota$). However, the adoption of a dialect usually goes hand in hand with the adoption of a script (as happens with the adoption of Great Attic and the Ionic alphabet). As such, the fact that a standard 'red' Doric colonial script was adopted by most of the

⁵⁵ See Sheets (1979), Méndez Dosuna (1985: 275–6), del Barrio Vega (1998: 272–9), Thompson (2006).

⁵⁶ Cf. Curbera (1994b: 94–5).

island may be an indication that there was indeed some linguistic convergence as well. A Sicilian Doric koina was certainly in use in Hellenistic Sicily; it is conceivable that its gestation may have begun some time earlier.⁵⁷

A representative inscription with commentary

The Doric of this period is well represented in an inscribed lead tablet of unknown provenance, probably dating to *c.*470 or somewhat later. The tablet bears two texts, which are apparently entirely separate, face B having been written only when the lead tablet had lost the left side of face A. Face A is a document recording a sale of oxen, and naming some individuals as guarantors. Since the left-hand side is missing, it is not possible to provide a coherent translation, and the interpretation of certain passages is tentative.

SEG LVII 905A

[M]υσκῶν· Δαμῖος· του Κοβητου·

Myskon son of Damis son of Kobetos.

[Δ]ἔμοκριτος· ἐφίετο Ἀπελιν ἐγγυασσασθαι

Demokritos asked Apelis to be guarantor

[ἡα]μα δε εἶφα εἰμειν, κατελαζετο τον Λεοντινον ξε

and at the same time he said he was. He found the *proxenos* of the Leontinians,

[νον] Μυσκονα· ἐν ται πλατεια<ι> θῶκεοντα· Σ-

Myskon (?), who was sitting on the street (?).

[ΣΣ?] ἀργυριον ἐχῶν ἡικε βοῶν τιμαν· οὐκ ἐπρίατο

5

He came with staters of silver as price of the oxen. He did not buy.

δε] · ποτ' Ἐνπεδοκλῆν Μνασιμαχου ποτεν<ε>θετο·

He deposited it with Empedocles the son of Mnasimachos.

γενεσθῶ ἐν[γ]υασσασθαι

Let this be the guarantee.

As concerns phonology, this inscription has Doric /a:/ throughout (except in [Δ]ἔμοκριτος, who may have been a foreigner) and like all other dialects of the *Doris media* group, shows long close mid vowels for the isovocalic contractions (as in the genitive singular του Κοβητου l. 1, Μνασιμαχου l. 6, and the athematic infinitive ending -μειν in εἰμειν l. 3) and for the result of the first compensatory

⁵⁷ See next chapter.

lengthening (as in the first syllable of the infinitive $\epsilon\iota\mu\epsilon\iota\nu$ l. 3). The vocalism of the verb $\theta\omega\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\omega$ (accusative participle $\theta\acute{\omicron}\kappa\epsilon\omicron\nu\tau\alpha$, l. 4) which corresponds to Attic $\theta\acute{\alpha}\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\omega$, can be explained as a contraction of / oa / to / ω :/ . The imperfect third person singular $\kappa\alpha\tau\epsilon\lambda\alpha\zeta\epsilon\tau\omicron$ l. 3 (= Attic $\kappa\alpha\tau\epsilon\lambda\acute{\alpha}\mu\beta\alpha\nu\epsilon$) shows the expected outcome of labiovelar plus *yod* (the present stem being $*slh_2g^h-i\acute{e}-$).⁵⁸

Among the notable morphological features, we find the expected *i*-stem inflection of the type $\pi\acute{o}\lambda\iota\varsigma$, $-\iota\omicron\varsigma$, as in genitive singular $\Delta\alpha\mu\iota\omicron\varsigma$ (l. 1). We also find the thematic infinitive in $-\mu\epsilon\iota\nu$ ($\epsilon\iota\mu\epsilon\iota\nu$ l. 3 = Attic $\epsilon\iota\nu\alpha\iota$), which has already been dealt with. The aorist $\pi\omicron\tau\epsilon\nu<\epsilon>\theta\epsilon\tau\omicron$ (l. 6) is probably from the hapax $\pi\omicron\tau\epsilon\nu\tau\acute{\iota}\theta\eta\mu\iota$. Lastly, the preposition $\pi\omicron\tau\iota$ (l. 6) corresponds to Attic $\pi\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$.

Face B of the same lead tablet contains a *defixio* (its beginning is not reproduced here):

SEG LVII 905B

Καλεδιαν

[απογ]{α}ραφῶ απ' Απελλιος και τῶς τῆνει παντας επι μεσοτερ-
I inscribe Kaledias, to separate him from Apellis, and all those in between
there . . .

[ο . . .] ενταδα Σῶσιαν απογραφῶ απο τῶ καπῆλειῳ Αλκιαδαν επι τα-
and here. I inscribe Sosias from the shop of the Alkiadai

[ι Μελ?]ανθιῷ φιλοτατι Πυρια<μ> Μυσσκελον Δαμοφαντον και τον
because of his affection for Melanthios, I inscribe Pyrrhias, Myskelos,
Damophantos and . . .

[. . .]ον απογραφῶ απο τῶμ παιδῶν και τῶμ πατερῶν και τῶς ἀλλ- 5
to separate them from their children and parents, and I inscribe all others
[ῶς πα]ντας οἱτινες ενταδε αφικνοιατο. μεδεν' Ευνικῶ σπευδαιο-
who should come here. Let nobody be more successful than Eunikos,
[τερο]ν γενεσθαι, μετ' ἀνδρεσι μετε γυναικεσσι· ὅς ουτος <ο> βολιμος,
τῶς TE-

either among men or among women. As this lead tablet, so

[. . .]ΟΔΙΑΙΤΙΜΑΝ ερυσαιντο Ευνικῶι αε νικαν παντῆ· εμ βολουμοι επ-
. . . may they help Eunikos to always win everywhere.

ι[ι φιλ]οτατι ται Ευνικῶ γαρφῶ.

I write this for the affection of Eunikos.

There are a number of interesting phonological features in this text. The geminate <ΣΣ> is used before a stop (accusative Μυσσκελον

⁵⁸ Cf. LIV s.v. $*slegh_2g^h-$.

l. 4, accusative plural τῶς τῆναι l. 2), which is sporadically attested in Greek.⁵⁹ The signs <EI>, <OY> are not yet used to render the secondary long mid vowels, in contrast with the previous inscription (instead we find the accusative plural τῶς ll. 2, 5, genitive singular τῶ καπελεῖῶ l.3, Ευνικῶ ll. 6, 9). Geminates are sometimes spelled as double consonants (this is attested from the fifth century onwards), sometimes as single (genitive singular Απελλιος l.2, accusative plural ἀλλ[ῶς l. 5, dative plural γυναικεσσι l. 7, but accusative singular Πυ<ρ>ρια<μ> l. 4, dative plural ἀνδρεσι l. 7). There are phonetic spellings (τῶμ παιδῶν l. 5), as happens occasionally before the fifth century. The aspiration is not indicated graphically in the nominative plural οἰτινες l. 6 (this phenomenon is sporadically attested outside Sicily).⁶⁰ As for ἐνταδε (l. 6), which is the equivalent of Attic ἐνθάδε, the use of <τ> shows that the aspirate stop /t^h/ (<Θ>) still maintained its occlusion and was not a fricative. Finally, there is metathesis in γαρφῶ l. 9 (i.e. γράφω), which is also a banal phenomenon sporadically attested in inscriptions.

Notable morphological traits are more isolated. The adverb τῆναι (l. 2), which corresponds to Attic ἐκεῖ, is built on the Doric demonstrative pronoun τῆνος. The athematic dative plural ending -εσσι (see above) is attested in ἀνδρεσι καὶ γυναικεσσι l. 7. Finally, the third person secondary ending -ατο alternates with -ντο after a semivowel (αφικνοιατο l. 6, but ἐρυσαιντο l. 8).

On the lexical level, we shall note the term βολιμος l.7, the equivalent of the Attic μόλυβδος ‘lead’, a word of uncertain etymology.⁶¹ The adverb αἰ l. 8, which corresponds to Attic αἰ, is an endless locative.⁶²

Conclusions

As we have seen, the data from the Euboean colonies is quite scanty. The city with the most important inscriptional record is

⁵⁹ Probably because in this context the sibilant had an ambisyllabic articulation and, therefore, a longer pronunciation. Cf. Méndez Dosuna (1985: 373–89).

⁶⁰ Cf. Buck (1955: 53–5).

⁶¹ The word μόλυβδος may be a borrowing from Lydian *marīwda-* ‘dark, black’. See Melchert (2008).

⁶² Cf. Wodtko, Irslinger and Schneider (2008: 281).

Himera. The documents from the Ionic colonies show Euboean features, but Doric features gradually seep in as a result of the political developments that made Doric-speaking people settle there. Sicilian Ionic subsequently disappears from the inscriptional record, and appears to have completely given way to Doric.

Among the Doric colonies, Selinous is the city that has yielded the most important inscriptional evidence. As regards the language, it must be said that all original Doric dialects of Sicily belonged to the same dialectal group. Accordingly, most features of Sicilian Doric are also attested in other Doric dialects outside Sicily, and it is not possible to detect significant dialectal differences among the original Sicilian dialects. It seems likely that there was some dialect convergence, although there is not much conclusive evidence apart from the probable extension of the dative plural ending $-\epsilon\sigma\sigma\iota$ beyond Syracuse and its colonies, where we assume it originated. There are also clear signs that a standard red Doric script was eventually adopted by cities that had previously used a blue alphabet. There was also a complete assimilation of the indigenous populations and the death of their indigenous languages: Sicilian Doric eventually became the language of all Sicily.⁶³ All of this tallies well with the historical developments, which caused large-scale population movements and substantially increased interaction between the inhabitants of Sicily.

⁶³ A clear account of this process and a more general assessment of the interaction between Greek and the indigenous languages is provided in Willi (2008: 16–45, 331–49); see also Chapters 1 and 6.

CHAPTER 8

THE SICILIAN DORIC KOINA

Susana Mimbrera

Introduction

This chapter is an account of the Greek language used in Sicilian inscriptions from the fourth to the first century BC.¹ A study of the Greek of this period is justified, since there is a clear-cut divide in the documentation: from the fourth century onwards, many of the old cities do not yield any more documents (for example, this is the case for Selinous, which was destroyed by the Carthaginians in 409) and a different set of new cities, such as Halaesa, Tauromenium and Entella, provide most of the data. Another reason to devote a chapter to this period is that most inscriptions were written in a different variety of Greek from archaic inscriptions, namely the ‘Sicilian Doric koina’,² i.e. the particular variety that

¹ Owing to our imperfect knowledge of dialectal accentuation, throughout this chapter the dialectal forms from inscriptions are not accented, keeping with the common practice among Greek dialectologists. All the dates are BC. When inscriptions are quoted, the following conventions are followed: after the abbreviation of the inscription and its number, there appears a parenthesis with the abbreviation of the place of origin, the type of inscription, and the date. For example, *IGDS I 124* (CAM, con., c.300) is an inscription coming from Camarina, it is a contract and it is dated c.300. The following abbreviations for the places of origin are used: ACR (Akragas), ACRAE, CAM (Camarina), CAS (Casmene), CAT (Catania), CENT (Centuripa), CEPH (Cephaloedium), Dlf. (Delphi), DOD (Dodona), ENT (Entella), ER (Eryx), HAL (Halaesa), HALUNTUM, HEL (Heloron), int. (interior of Sicily), LIL (Lilybaeum), Magn. (Magesia), MORG (Morgantina), NAC (Nacona), PHIN (Phintias), RHEG (Rhegium), SEG (Segesta), SEL (Selinous), S. Frat. (San Fratello), SOL (Soluntum), SYR (Syracuse), TAUR (Tauromenium), T.Him. (Termini Imerese). The abbreviations of the type of inscriptions are as follows: agon. (agonistic inscription), c. (cadastral inscription), cat. (catalogue), ce. (ceramic), con. (contract), ded. (dedication), *def.* (*defixio*), fin. (financial inscription), gl.miss. (*glan-des missiles*), hd. (honorary decree), hon.ded. (honorary dedication), ldc. (laws, decrees and conventions), pro. (possessor’s inscription), publ. (public inscription), *tes.* (*tessera*). When the type of inscription is uncertain, the material of which it is made is given, for example ce. (ceramic), lead (lead tablet). In the indication of the date, the abbreviation ‘Hell.’ means ‘Hellenistic inscription’ (used if it is not possible to be more precise); II² means ‘second half of the second century’.

² We may say either ‘Sicilian Doric koine’ or ‘Sicilian Doric koina’. The term ‘koina’ is often used to highlight the fact that the base of this variety was Doric (since Doric

arose out of the interaction of Sicilian Doric and the Attic-Ionic koine.³

Previous scholarship on post-classical Sicilian Greek

The Sicilian Greek of the Hellenistic period has already been dealt with by other authors. The scholarship on post-classical Sicilian Greek has concentrated on two issues. First, on whether there was convergence among the Doric dialects. Sicca assumed that there had been a certain amount of mixture among the original dialects spoken on the island and Consani accepts the received idea that there was a Syracusan-based koina.⁴ However, they make only passing and sweeping statements. The only person to address this issue in a systematic way was Curbera.⁵ He used mainly Hellenistic inscriptions and tried to determine if there was a Syracusan-based koina. In order to do so, he concentrated on those Doric features that seem not to have been shared by all Doric dialects. By observing the areas where they were attested, he showed that some of them had spread in the area comprised by Gela, Entella and Rhegium, while some others appeared in the area around Syracuse. In spite of this he concluded that Sicilian Doric was not a uniform variety and that the political power of Syracuse did not produce a Syracusan-based variety.

Curbera's analysis of how some features have spread to other areas is certainly valuable. However, the conclusion that there was no uniform variety is perhaps a bit extreme. The main objection is that, despite using mainly epigraphic material from the Hellenistic period, Curbera focuses only on the Doric evidence, but does not take into account the impact of the Attic-Ionic koine. In the remainder of this chapter I will try to show that there was a

preserved the /a:/ that we find in κοινά, the Doric equivalent for κοινή). In the remainder of this paper I will only use the expression 'Sicilian Doric koina'. I will reserve the term 'koine' for the Attic-Ionic koine.

³ 'Sicilian Doric koina' is sometimes used to refer to the supradialectal variety of Sicilian that allegedly arose in the period up to the fifth century from the merging or convergence of the original different Doric dialects spoken in Sicily and was based on the Syracusan dialect. Using archaic material, Bartoněk (1973) first made a case for the birth of such a koina (or koine, as he called it). For this, see previous chapter.

⁴ Sicca (1924: 4, 154), Consani (1996: 125). ⁵ Curbera (1994b).

relatively uniform Sicilian Doric koina, but made up of Doric and Attic-Ionic koine features, even though it cannot be determined whether it was Syracusan-based or not.

The second issue that research has revolved around is the influence of the Attic-Ionic koine on Sicilian Greek. It is usually agreed that Doric was quite resilient in Sicily, koine being spoken only by the upper classes, while the lower classes would have continued to speak the dialect until Greek ceased to be used on the island,⁶ or they would have spoken a mixture of Doric and koine.⁷ A new appraisal of the epigraphic evidence is needed in order to determine whether this is correct or not. This is of importance, since a number of inscriptions have been published after the contributions of the above-mentioned scholars.⁸

This chapter will also aim to understand the way in which the dialect, the koine, or the Sicilian Doric koina were used. The ideal objective would be to determine what was written and spoken not only by the upper but also by the lower classes by studying public inscriptions (whose language may be assumed to be similar to the spoken language of the upper classes) and private inscriptions (some of which, such as the more colloquial *defixiones*, will inform us about the variety used by the lower classes).

Attention will be paid to the epigraphic formulae that we find especially in the public documents, but also in some private ones, such as the contracts.⁹ The reason is that in Hellenistic times all these formulae are typical of the Attic-Ionic koine across the Mediterranean. It would also be interesting to try to establish whether there are differences in the use of each of these varieties according to the cities involved.

But, above all, central to this research is the question of the vitality of the Doric dialect in Sicily vis-à-vis the Attic-Ionic koine. I will try to assess the impact of the koine and I will try to find reasons for its use, taking into account the literary tradition and the attitude to the dialect that we find in Sicily. In order to carry out this

⁶ See Sicca (1924: 148, 156–60).

⁷ See Consani (1996: 116, 125–6, 128), (1997: 61–2).

⁸ Mostly published by Manganaro and now collected by Dubois in *IGDS* II.

⁹ For the study of epigraphic formulae in inscriptions, see López Eire (1993b), de Hoz (1994), Curbera (1994c) and Morpurgo Davies (1999).

research I will describe the inscriptional evidence that we have and I will analyse the language in which our documents are written. I will examine first the public documents and then the private ones; and I will distinguish the Doric features from the Attic-Ionic koine features. But, before doing this, it is necessary to say a few words about the methodological framework and to discuss briefly the historical context which allowed this new koina to be born in the first place.

Methodological framework

When studying the constitution of a standard Doric, research carried out on dialects in contact is especially useful.¹⁰ The relatively standard Doric of the Sicilian Doric koina is in marked contrast with the situation that we must assume existed at least in the archaic age, when Sicily, occupied by colonists of different Doric origin, must have had several dialects (Megarian, Corinthian, Rhodian-Cretan and Ionic).¹¹ We must assume a process of koineization or mixing of related language varieties. This entails some dialect levelling and mixture,¹² which is the natural outcome in the context of increased interaction among the inhabitants of Sicily (more on the history of Sicily later).

On the other hand, the scholarship on the Greek koine and the ancient Greek dialects is important for assessing the impact of the Attic-Ionic koine, and especially so the studies published in the last twenty-five years, which have been inspired by sociolinguistics.¹³

¹⁰ See Siegel's (1985) concept of koineization, and Trudgill (1986).

¹¹ See Chapter 7. ¹² Cf. Siegel (1985: 373–6).

¹³ Among the most important contributors we may mention Frösén (1974), Teodorsson (1974), (1977), (1978), Bubeník (1989), Brixhe (1987), (1993a) and Consani (1986), (1995a), (1995b), (1996), (1997), (1999). They have achieved a better understanding of the process of diffusion of the koine, and especially of the spoken language. Other problems that have attracted attention are the process of koineization of the dialects (see, for example, Bubeník (1989), Dobias-Lalou (1987), Panayotou (1990), Brixhe (1993a), (1996b)) and the contact of koine with other languages (for Anatolia, see Brixhe (1987), for the contact with Latin, see Biville (1993)). The problem of the origin of the koine has been the focus of important research (Brixhe and Panayotou (1988), Chadwick (1991), Brixhe and Hodot (1993), López Eire (1993a), Petersmann (1995)). Interest in the subject has not declined to this day. We may note the theoretical considerations of Colvin (2009) and the excellent treatment of the koine in Horrocks (2010), which shows the development from ancient dialects to Middle and Modern Greek via the koine.

Particularly valuable is the idea that the koine is a *continuum* of different varieties, from the written and spoken koine of the upper classes down to the lower-register spoken and written varieties.¹⁴ The concept of diglossia is also crucial when confronting the linguistic reality of the Hellenistic period, since we must suppose that the speakers of Sicilian Doric did not completely master the Attic-Ionic koine (at least at the beginning) but had an imperfect command over it.

Although a sociolinguistic theoretical background is helpful in order to understand the linguistic situation of the Hellenistic period, it is of limited use when trying to determine what the spoken language of the upper and lower classes was like. It is obvious that we cannot use sociolinguistic methods to elicit our data, since we only possess written documents. Furthermore, the documents that we seek to analyse are standardized to a certain degree, since writing entails the choice of one register over the multiplicity of registers of the spoken language.¹⁵ Therefore it needs to be stressed that, whereas the written language may be relatively easy to get to know, the knowledge that we gain about the spoken language of the various classes is somewhat tentative. In conclusion, we must use caution and not attribute the adoption of the koine to the upper or lower classes in a mechanical and simplistic way as has been done all too often in recent years.¹⁶

Historical overview

Dionysius I (405–367), who started as a simple soldier, came to power in 405 at Syracuse, where he became a tyrant.¹⁷ At the

¹⁴ See, for example, Brixhe and Hodot (1993: 9) and Horrocks (2010: 84).

¹⁵ See Cardona (1985).

¹⁶ This criticism can be made of some of Consani's contributions. For example, he maintains that in Rhegium (1995b) and in Magna Graecia (1996: 116) the koine would have been the variety of the lower classes (a situation that contrasts with that of Sicily), but he does not explain from a historical or cultural point of view why this should have been the case.

¹⁷ For the history of Sicily during this period, see Finley (1968), Wilson (1990: 17–32), Smith and Serrati (2000), Bonacasa, Braccisi and De Miro (2002), Campagna (2003), Caccamo Caltabiano, Campagna and Pinzone (2004). I here provide a basic sketch as a background to my discussion of linguistic issues.

beginning of his reign, he was in conflict with the Carthaginians,¹⁸ but this was no hindrance for his expansionist policy, as a result of which he won part of the Sicilian territory outside Syracuse, established colonies in southern Italy and intervened in the Adriatic. He was a patron of the arts and made wide use of propaganda, for example through the creation of myths in which he tried to present himself as a ruler similar to his predecessors, the Deinomenids.¹⁹

When he died, a period of political instability ensued, and the fights against the Carthaginians continued. This prompted the coming of Timoleon (344–336), who overthrew Dionysius II and defeated the Carthaginians at the battle of Crimissus (341). A period of prosperity followed. After Timoleon's retirement in 336, Agathocles came to power. His reign was also marked by the conflict with the Carthaginians, with whom he was forced to make peace. This enabled him to conquer part of the island. He had a good relationship with rulers from the Eastern Mediterranean and gained control of part of southern Italy. His reign was characterized by a great deal of propaganda, as was the case with some of his predecessors.²⁰ His assassination in 289 was followed by a period of anarchy, and at this point the Mamertines arrived. The latter wreaked havoc, which prompted the successful intervention of Pyrrhus against the Mamertines and the Carthaginians.

Pyrrhus was succeeded by Hiero II (269–215), who cast himself as a Hellenistic ruler of the eastern Mediterranean.²¹ He defeated the Mamertines, but the latter asked the Romans for help, and this marks the beginning of the First Punic War. After some fighting, Hiero II signed a peace treaty with the Romans, of whom he would be a firm ally. Rome took hold of three-quarters of the island, but the kingdom of Syracuse belonged to Hiero II. Some cities in central and western Sicily suffered greatly during the First Punic War and some, like Selinous, even disappeared. But Hiero's kingdom flourished. His reign was characterized by prosperity (Syracuse became a rich state due to its grain exports) and attracted

¹⁸ For this, see Anello (2002b). ¹⁹ For this aspect, see Lewis (2000).

²⁰ See Consolo Langher (2004: 79–85).

²¹ He had a good relationship with the rest of Greece and sometimes made use of the *euergetia* which is typical of Hellenistic rulers: see Portale (2004).

intellectual activity. A number of architectural projects hark back to this period.²²

After Hiero's death, his son Hieronymus took power, but preferred to become an ally of the Carthaginians instead of the Romans. He was subsequently assassinated. In 212 Hannibal took Syracuse, which would be seized by the Romans in 211. Sicily quickly became the first Roman province (although some governmental structure already existed soon after 241).²³ Even though some cities declined as a result of the previous wars, most saw a period of prosperity due to the policy of 'soft power' of the Romans and due to the exports of grain (and this despite the slave revolts, which were crushed). This prosperity can be seen for example in the massive investment in building programmes.²⁴ The public buildings are of Greek type, a fact which contrasts with the situation in southern Italy. Sextus, Pompey's son, gained control of the island in 42, but his conflict with Octavian led to widespread destruction and Sicily's prosperity dwindled, not least because the importance of Sicilian grain declined (on the controversy over whether this was really a period of total decline of the island or not, see [Chapter 11](#)).

During much of the period under study in this chapter, wars were the cause of numerous deportations and repopulations. In addition, many mercenaries and foreigners came to Sicily. This, added to the normal mobility of the ancient world, must have contributed to some dialect levelling. On the other hand, the arrival of new people from outside Sicily was probably a boon to the extension of the koine, which, as we know, spread all over the Mediterranean in Hellenistic times. Now it is necessary to see if the linguistic data bear out these suppositions. In order to do so, let us consider first the public documents and then the private ones.

The public documents

We are well informed about the official writing of the period, since the public inscriptions are quite numerous (there are around ninety

²² See Campagna (2004: 151–85), Ferruti (2004). ²³ See Serrati (2000).

²⁴ For this, see Wilson (1990: 23–8) and Wilson (2000: 144–5, 160).

and a few of them are quite long. The most important are a number of honorary dedications from Segesta, Halaesa, Haluntum, Thermae, Tauromenium, Lilybaeum, Soluntum and San Fratello; honorary decrees from Phintias and Syracuse; other type of decrees or treaties from Akragas, Phintias, Camarina, Entella, Nacona, Tauromenium, Centuripa, Syracuse and Halaesa; catalogues from Tauromenium, Acrae and Syracuse; and financial inscriptions from Tauromenium.²⁵

The public inscriptions show a very uniform language where Doric and koine features mix in a quite fixed and non-haphazard way.

*The Doric component of the Sicilian Doric koina
of the public documents*

Among the Dorisms there are banal Doric features, which are common to most Doric dialects²⁶ and which, therefore, must have been shared by all Sicilian cities from the start, such as:²⁷

- original $\bar{\alpha}$ nearly always preserved (but see ‘Koine features’, below)
- Doric contractions ($\bar{\alpha} + o = \bar{\alpha}$, $\bar{\alpha} + \omega = \bar{\alpha}$) nearly always preserved (but see ‘Koine features’)

²⁵ For the complete catalogue of public inscriptions, see Mimbrera (2006) and Mimbrera (forthcoming). They include: *SEG* LIV 897 (CAT, publ., I^a–I^b), *SEG* XXXIV 951 (LIL, hon.ded., II), *IGDS* II 88 = *SEG* L 1020 (SEG, publ., III), *IGDS* I 214a (SEG, hon.ded., III–II), *IGDS* I 214b (SEG, hon.ded., II), *IGPalermo* 114 + *SEG* XXXVIII 964 (SOL, hon.ded., 43–31), *IGDS* I (PHIN [Cos], ldc., p. 242), *IGDS* I 184 (ACR [DOD.], ldc., IV–III), *IGDS* I 185 (ACR, hd., Hell.), *IG* XIV 955 (Rome [ACR], hd., I), *IGDS* I 117 (CAM [Cos], ldc., p. 242), *IGDS* I 204 (ENT, ldc., III), *IGDS* I 205 (ENT, ldc., III), *IGDS* I 206 (NAC, ldc., III), *IGDS* I 207 (ENT, ldc., III), *SEG* XXXVII 761 (HAL, hon.ded., I), *SEG* XXXVII 759 (HAL, hon.ded., II–I), *SEG* XXXVII 760 (HAL, hon.ded., I), *IG* XIV 359 (S. Frat., hon.ded., II), *SEG* XLIX 1270 (HALUNTUM, agon., III–II), *SEG* XLIX 1271 (HALUNTUM, agon., III–II), *IGDS* I 202 (T.Him., hon.ded., II–I), *IGDS* I 203 (T.Him., hon.ded., II–I), *IG* XIV 421 (TAUR, cat., Hell.), *IG* XIV 422 (TAUR, cat., Hell.), *IG* XIV 423 (TAUR, fin., Hell.), *IGDS* I 189 (CENT, ldc., I), *SEG* XLIX 1281 (int., publ., Hell.?). *IGDS* I 97 (SYR [Magn.], ldc., 207–6), *IGPalermo* 106 (SYR, hd., II ex.–I in.), *IGDS* I 109 (ACRAE, cat., Hell.), *IGPalermo* 31 (ACRAE, cat., II²), *IGDS* I 100 (HEL, agon., II–I), *IGDS* I 197 (HAL, ldc., c.150), *IG* XIV 282 (ER, ded., 49), *SEG* XLI 836 (SOL, ded., II ex.), *IG* XIV 349 (CEPH, ded., Hell.-imp.), *IGDS* II.107 (Adrano, ded., c.200).

²⁶ For the general characteristics of West Greek, see Buck (1955: 154, §223, and also 141, §180).

²⁷ For the actual examples of the listed features, see Mimbrera (2006) and Mimbrera (forthcoming).

- hiatus -εο- nearly always preserved in nouns (for example, in genitive -εος of the *s-stems) (but see ‘Koine features’)
- *mitior* vocalism
- ἰστία (cf. Attic ἐστία) nearly always attested, but see ‘Koine features’
- Ἄρταμ-, cf. Ἄρταμις, but koine Ἄρτεμ- more frequent (see ‘Koine features’)
- apocope of prepositions (ἀνά, κατά, παρά, ποτί)
- -σσ- (<*tj-) in ὄσσοις, etc. (but koine ὄσος is more frequent, see ‘Koine features’)
- -σσ- (<*tμ-) always attested in ἡμισσον
- inflection of the type πόλις, -ιος (only dat. πόλει is attested, but this is rather a case of iotacism; see ‘Koine features’)
- possessive ἄμός (cf. Attic ἡμέτερος) always attested
- preposition ποτί (cf. Attic πρὸς) always attested
- preposition ἐς (attested as often as Attic εἰς; see ‘Koine features’)
- ἄς = ἕως always attested (but few overall examples)
- ἄνις = ἄνευ (only one example)
- modal particle κα (cf. Attic ἄν) always attested
- ὄκα (cf. Attic ὅτε) always attested (but few examples)
- ἔνεκα (but koine ἔνεκεν is more often attested; see ‘Koine features’)
- conjugation in -ώω (always attested)
- Doric verbal endings nearly always attested (first person singular verb ending -μεν, third person plural verb ending -ντι) (but see ‘Koine features’)
- aorists in -ξα- of verbs in -ζω nearly always attested (but see ‘Koine features’).
- ‘Doric’ future in -σέω nearly always attested (but see ‘Koine features’)
- γίνομαι = Attic γίγνομαι
- δέκομαι, but Attic δέχομαι attested once; see ‘Koine features’
- θεαρός, but Attic θεωρός more frequent; see ‘Koine features’
- Doric numerals (e.g. ἰκάς, cf. Attic εἰκάς), but koine numerals more frequent; see ‘Koine features’
- suffix of agent -τήρ (cf. Attic -τής)

Apart from these banal Doric features, the Sicilian Doric of the public inscriptions shows others which are not common to all Doric dialects. The combination of these features gives Sicilian Greek a distinct aspect (even though some of them are also documented in other parts of the Greek world and are, therefore, not exclusive to Sicily). They are:

- The third declension dative plural ending -εσσιν. It is attested almost everywhere (Phintias, Camarina, Entella, Nacona, Lilybaeum, Morgantina, Halaesa and Syracuse). It is used in the stems in *-nt, liquid,

nasal, **-i*, **-ēu-* and **-u*. At Tauromenium we find *-οις* (in the stems in stops, in **-nt*, in liquid and in nasal). At Acrae we find both forms even in the same word.²⁸

- The athematic infinitive ending *-μειν*. It is attested at Akragas, Tauromenium, Entella and Rhegium, but we find *-μεν* at Syracuse and Camarina.²⁹
- The perfect with present endings. It is attested at Entella, Centuripa and Akragas.³⁰ At Nacona we find the ‘normal’ perfect, which is already attested at Camarina in the fifth century.³¹
- The term *ἄλίσμα* ‘decree’ (cf. *ἄλῖα*). In other parts of the Greek world we find *δόγμα* or *ψήφισμα*. It is attested in distant cities such as Phintias, Nacona and Entella.³² However, at Syracuse we find *ψήφισμα* (*IGDS* I 97).

The only exclusive Sicilianism (i.e. feature not attested outside Sicily) is the reflexive pronoun *αὐτόντα*. It is attested in

²⁸ The use of the ending *-εσσι* as dative plural of the third declension comes about because the ending *-σι*, when attached to certain consonant stems, gave rise to phonetic changes that could make less evident that it belonged to those stems. It has been explained as a case of analogical proportion: *λύκοι: λύκοισι :: ἄγῶνες: ἄγῶνεσσι*; see Wackernagel (1903: 967–9). The examples are too numerous to be listed here. Some of the datives in *-εσσι* are: *περιαγγέλλοντεςσι* *IGDS* I 160.32 (PHIN [Cos], ldc., p. 242), *συνοικίζαντεςσι* *IGDS* I 117.3 (CAM [Cos], ldc., p. 242), *ανδρεςσι* *IGDS* I 207.13 (ENT, ldc., III), *γενετορεςσι* *IGDS* I 206.31 (NAC, ldc., III), *υιεςσι* *IG* XIV 10 (SYR, hon.ded., Hell.). Datives in *-οις* (which arise for the same reason as the datives in *-εσσι*): *σιτοφυλακοις* *IG* XIV 423.I.25 *passim* (TAUR, fin., Hell.). The dative plural *πᾶσι* is attested in places where we otherwise find *-εσσι*. Examples: *πασι* *IGDS* I 185.20 (ACR, hd., Hell.), *IGDS* I 206.8 (NAC, ldc., III), *SEG* XXXVII 761.1 (HAL, hon.ded., I). This also happens in other parts of the Greek world where the ending *-εσσι* is in use. The ending *-εσσι* probably did not spread to this word because words with a high token frequency are prone to phonetic changes but not to analogical ones.

²⁹ This ending was created by analogy with *-ειν*. Some of the examples with *-μεν* are: *ειμεν* *IGDS* I 117.6 (CAM [Cos], ldc., p. 242), *δομεν* *IGDS* I 97.38 (SYR [Magn.], ldc., 207/6). Some examples with *-μειν* are: *ειμειν* *IGDS* I 185.19 (ACR, hd., Hell.), *αποδιδομειν* *IGDS* I 207.13 (ENT, ldc., III), *αναθεμειν* *IGDS* I 161.25 (PHIN, hd., I), *αγορασθημειν* *IG* XIV 430.I.13 (TAUR, fin., Hell.).

³⁰ The old stative perfects express the present state of the subject (which results from a past action). That is why the present endings were used. Examples: third person singular *γεγονει* *IGDS* I 207.7 (ENT, ldc., III), infinitive *γεγονειν* *IGDS* I 185.15 (ACR, hd., Hell.). These endings later spread to active perfects in *-κα*, such as infinitive *παράλελαβηκειν* *IGDS* I 189.16 + *SEG* XLII 837 (CENT, ldc., I).

³¹ Examples: third person singular *τεθνακε* *SEG* XLII 846.81 (CAM, *tes.*, c.450), third person singular *γεγονε* *IGDS* I 206.11 (NAC, ldc., III), participle *γεγονοτες* *ibid.* 13, *συνελογχοτες* *ibid.* 27.

³² Examples: *αλίσματα* *IGDS* I 161.4 (PHIN, hd., I), *αλίσμα* *IGDS* I 206.33 (NAC, ldc., III), *IGDS* I 207.13 (ENT, ldc., III), *IGDS* I 208.27 (ENT, ldc., III), *IGDS* I 209.16 (ENT, ldc., III), *IGDS* I 210.13 (ENT, ldc., III), *IGDS* I 211.19 (ENT, ldc., III), *IGDS* I 212.13 (ENT, ldc., III), *IG* XIV 612 (RHEG, ldc., Hell.).

Hellenistic times at Segesta, Centuripa, Nacona, and near ancient Himera.³³

This set of features, which give Sicilian Doric a distinctive appearance vis-à-vis other Doric dialects, is also important in another respect. The fact that they are attested in distant parts of Sicily may indicate that they have spread from one place to the others (it is unlikely that they all developed independently), so this could be a sign of dialect levelling.³⁴ The dative plural ending -εσσι may have spread from Syracuse, since it is attested in the Corinthian colonies.³⁵ Likewise the infinitive ending -μειν may have spread to Entella and Tauromenium from the Rhodian–Cretan colonies, since we know it is usual in Rhodes.³⁶ As for the perfect with present endings, it may have originated at Akragas, since it is known in Rhodes.³⁷

³³ This pronoun can be explained from αὐταυτόν (which in turn comes from αὐτός αὐτόν), if we imagine that αὐταυτοῦ has evolved to *αὐτᾱτοῦ (either through loss of the second element of the diphthong -αυ-, cf. ἔαυτοῦ > ἔᾱτοῦ, or through dissimilation of αυ-αυ to αυ-α). Afterwards, a metathesis of syllables would have produced the form αὐτοῦτα. This metathesis could have been extended to the plural from singular forms like αὐτοῦτα ending in a vowel, where this process is easier to conceive than in, for example, αὐτῶνα: see Wackernagel (1895). This pronoun is attested in the following examples: genitive singular masculine τῶν ἀδελφῶν αὐτοῦτα Μίνυραν *IGDS* I 213 (SEG, ded., II?), τῶν αὐτοῦτα ματέρα *SEG* 41.827 (SEG, hon.ded., II), genitive singular feminine τὸν αὐταῖστα πατέρα *SEG* 41.827 (SEG, hon.ded., IV/III), accusative plural masculine αὐτοῦστα *IGDS* I 189.2 + *SEG* 42.837 (CENT, ldc., I), *ibid.* 3, 5; genitive plural ἐς τὸν αὐτῶνα (κλαρον) *IGDS* I 206.26 (NAC, ldc., III), *ibid.* 19, τὸν ευεργετᾶν αὐτῶνα Ἀριστοδάμον *IGDS* I 203 (T.Him., hon.ded., II/I), τῶις ἐκγονοῖς αὐτῶνα *IGDS* I 189.13 + *SEG* XLII 837 (CENT, ldc., I), dative plural masculine αὐτοῖστα *IGDS* I 206.27 (NAC, ldc., III).

³⁴ This is indeed the opinion of Curbera (1994b).

³⁵ Cf. Curbera (1994b: 94). As for the dative in -οις, it may have developed independently in Sicily (for the same reasons as the dative in -εσσι) or it may have spread there from Locri Epizephyrioi, in southern Italy, where it would be ascribed to the early Locrian colonists; see Méndez Dosuna (1985: 485). In fact, Sicily and Locri had a very close relationship, as proved by the fact that there were numerous contacts between them. Dionysius I settled 1,000 Locrians in Messina and Timoleon made many inhabitants of southern Italy settle in Sicily. Apart from this, there were interventions of Agathocles in southern Italy.

³⁶ See Curbera (1994b: 95).

³⁷ See Curbera (1994b: 99). More problematic is his assertion that the reflexive pronoun αὐτόντα is an innovation that stemmed from the Rhodian–Cretan colonies, since it is found in the area delimited by Gela, Entella and Rhegium. The truth is that we do not know where it originated. The same applies to ὄλίσμα, which Curbera (1994b: 97) seems to consider of Rhodian–Cretan origin, but which is found outside this area (cf. Rigsby (1996: no. 17.7) (Cos [Elis], ldc., III)), cf. ὄλῖα ‘assembly’, which is itself also attested outside Sicily, in *IG* IX(1) 682.5 (Corcyra, ldc., IV), *IG* IX(1) 694.49 (Corcyra, ldc., III).

All this goes to show that some degree of dialect levelling is likely. The presence of these features in far separated towns is an indication that the dialect was quite uniform across Sicily. However, this agreement was not complete, as we have seen (ἄλίσμα ‘decree’ attested at Phintias, Nacona and Entella, but ψήφισμα at Syracuse;³⁸ dative plural ending -εσσι at Phintias, Camarina, Entella, Nacona, Lilybaeum, Morgantina, Syracuse, Acrae, but -οις at Tauromenium and Acrae; infinitive ending -μειν at Akragas, Tauromenium and Entella, but -μεν at Syracuse and Camarina; perfect with present endings at Entella, Centuripa and Akragas, but normal perfect at Nacona). To these features where there is no complete agreement we can add the following:

- Passage of verbs in -άω to the conjugation of verbs in -έω at Akragas, but not at Entella.³⁹

Summing up, there seems to be a certain amount of uniformity in Sicilian Doric, probably as a result of dialect levelling, which is a very normal development taking into account the history of Sicily. However, this uniformity was not complete. The linguistic differences among the Sicilian cities do not yield a clear-cut map with distinct areas. It is interesting to see that Syracuse opposed most Sicilian cities in two features: ψήφισμα (against ἄλίσμα at Phintias, Nacona and Entella) and the athematic infinitive ending in -μεν (feature shared by Syracuse’s colony Camarina against -μειν at Tauromenium, Akragas, and Entella). However, there is also one feature that Syracuse shares with most of the island: the athematic dative plural ending -εσσι.

³⁸ The word for ‘assembly’, which is ἄλῖα in most parts of the island, was also different at Syracuse: it was ἔσκλητος; cf. Hsch. s.v. ἔσκλητος.

³⁹ Cf. infinitive τιμειν *IGDS* I 185.16 (ACR, hd., Hell.), *IG* XIV 954.6 (ACR [Rome], ldc., I), but imperfect επλωνωμεθα *IGDS* I 211.11 (ENT, ldc., III), from πλανάομαι. The form τιμειν is exceptional, because in other dialects the transfer to the -έω inflection happens only where the thematic vowel was -ο-, as for example in the first or third person plural present. In order to explain it, it has been supposed that τιμῆν (<*τιμά-ε-εν) would have evolved to τιμῆιν for phonetic reasons: /ε:/ (<η>) would have raised to /e:/ (<ει>); see Hock (1971: 448). However, this change is not attested in Akragas. That is why it is better to operate with a proportional analogy: first person singular φιλω : infinitive φιλεῖν :: first person singular τιμῶ : infinitive τιμῆιν.

Koine features

Before tackling the issue of the impact of the koine in Sicily, we must consider whether there is any evidence of supradialectal influence on Sicilian Doric before the fourth century. The only supradialectal feature is the aorist in $-\sigma\alpha$ of a verb in $-\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega$, where $-\xi\alpha$ would have been expected: $\epsilon\psi\alpha\phi\iota\sigma\alpha\nu[\tau\omicron]$ *IGDS* I 219 (CAS, ldc., V in.).⁴⁰ This is indeed surprising, if we consider that aorists in $-\xi\alpha$ were one of the features (together with $-\tilde{\alpha}$) that survived in most Doric dialects well into the Roman era.⁴¹

Indirect evidence comes from the script used in this period: the Ionic alphabet is adopted everywhere in Sicily from the second half of the fifth century, although the public dedications of Hiero, Gelon and Polyzeus at the international sanctuaries are written in the Ionian alphabet as early as the second quarter of the fifth century, probably because this alphabet was felt to be more international.⁴² In Athens the Ionian alphabet starts to be used at around the same time and also in inscriptions which involve foreigners.⁴³ Since we know that the adoption of the Ionic alphabet and Great Attic was roughly simultaneous in most parts of the Greek world, it is safe to suppose that there must have been some supradialectal influence in Sicilian Doric in the fifth century apart from the aorist in $-\sigma\alpha$, although there are no testimonies of it.

⁴⁰ And perhaps in third person singular $\epsilon\rho\gamma\alpha\sigma\alpha\tau\omicron$ *ISic.MG* V 66 (SYR [Dif.], ded., 480), but it could also be explained by dissimilation of velar sounds, as happens in Argolic. An alternative explanation is that, since this is an interstate inscription, this feature (aorist in $-\xi\alpha$), perceived to be marked or salient, was avoided. There are some examples of avoidance of marked features in Greek interstate inscriptions: see Buck (1913) and Bubeník (1989: 291–2, 103). This is also attested in verse inscriptions before 400; see Mickey (1981: 54–5). Interstate inscriptions seem to be the first to display koine features in places like Boeotia (see Vottéro (1996: 83)) or Delphi (see Bubeník (1989: 292–3)). Although in Delphi the local dialect persisted into the first century AD, especially in proxeny decrees, the amphictionic documents (the ones that have a more international character) are not written in Delphic, but in koine.

⁴¹ See Meillet (1930: 310).

⁴² For the dedication of Ergoteles from Knossos, see *ISic.MG* III 54; the dedication of Hiero from Syracuse at Olympia can be read in *IGDS* I 94; the dedication of Polyzeus from Gela at Delphi is *ISic.MG* II 46 (*ISic.MG* II² 44). Coins from Himera commemorating the victory of the Greeks against the barbarians display the legend $\Sigma\delta\tau\eta\rho$; see *ISic.MG* III 56.

⁴³ The adoption of the Milesian script in Sicily has been studied by Brugnone (1995). In Athens the Milesian script is first attested (from 469–450) in treaties dealing with foreign (Ionian) citizens; it is shown in private documents c.450, although some Milesian letters are attested in *dipinti* and *ostraka* as early as 480; see Threatte (1980: 26–51).

Going back now to the official language of post-classical inscriptions, apart from the Doric dialectal features listed above, it also shows koine forms, sometimes side by side with their Doric counterparts, such as:

- occasional <H> for original $\bar{\alpha}$; occasional hyperdoric $\bar{\alpha}^{44}$
- iotacism
- contraction of -εο- to -ου- in the genitive of the *s-stems (but only in the expression διὰ τέλους, which appears in a decree formula; otherwise the hiatus is preserved)
- loss of the second element of diphthongs before a vowel; loss of the second element of long diphthongs
- loss of the distinction of vowel length
- Ἀρτεμ-: see Ἀρτεμις (more frequent than Doric Ἀρταμις)
- ἱερός (much more frequent than Doric ἰαρός)
- occasional ἔστία (much less frequent than Doric ἰστία)
- θεωρόν (more frequent than Doric θεαρόν)
- occasional κοινωνεῖν instead of Doric κοινωναεῖν
- ὅσος (and similar forms with <Σ> for *-tj-, *t^hj-) attested more often than Doric ὅσσος and similar forms
- πρόχος instead of πρόχους (πρόχος is only attested in the Tables of Tauromenium: *IG XIV 422a.88* (TAUR, cat., Hell.))
- dative in -ει of the stems in *-i (type πόλει), probably due to iotacism
- very occasional dative plural in -σι (instead of -εσσι or the less frequent -οις) in the third declension (*s-stems)
- occasional passage of third-declension forms to the second declension
- occasional θεά (feminine of θεός)
- preference for substantives formed with suffixes of abstracts, such as -μα or -σις
- occasional use of λοιπός instead of ἄλλος
- loss of the dual number (for this, see the Tables of Tauromenium)
- occasional passage of the second declension adjectives in -ος, -ον to the paradigm -ος, -α/η, -ον.
- articles οἱ, αἱ (never Doric τοί, ταί)
- reflexive pronouns αὐτοῦ, ἑαυτοῦ (*sic*) (as frequent as their Sicilian Doric counterpart αὐτόντα)
- ἴδιος as a reflexive possessive pronoun of the third person

⁴⁴ <H> is attested in *εὐεργετης IGPalermo 44* (HALUNTUM, hon.ded., a. AD 50), *θηγαίνειτα* 'hard stone', but gen. *τας πλατειας* in *IGDS I 202* (T.Him., hon.ded., II-I). It is also attested in personal names such as *Δημητριον Διοδοτον Συρακοσιον IGDS I 185.13* (ACR, hd., Hell.) and also *Αριστοδημος Νεμηνιδα Περσιος IGDS I 203.1* (T.Him., hon.ded., II-I), which may indicate that <H> for $\bar{\alpha}$ must have become fashionable among the upper classes. Hyperdoric $\bar{\alpha}$ is attested in the participle *παργενασθεντες IGDS I 206* (NAC, ldc., III).

- adverb ἔμπροσθεν (attested twice in the Entella decrees)
- koine numerals (especially in the Tables of Tauromenium)
- occasional periphrastic perfect
- occasional koine verbal endings (for example, third person plural ἔδωκαν, subjunctive γράφωσιν)
- occasional non-Doric future
- occasional -σα aorist of verbs in -ζω (cf. Doric -ξα)
- perfect παρίσχημαι of παρέχω
- aorist in -θη- of παραγίνομαι (cf. Attic παραγίγνομαι)
- occasional passage of athematic verbs to the thematic type (e.g. ὁμνύω)
- occasional δέχομαι (far less frequent than Doric δέκομαι)
- frequent use of ὑπάρχω 'to exist'
- preposition εἰς (as frequent as Doric ἐς)
- ἔνεκεν (much more frequent than Doric ἔνεκα)
- frequent use of καθά
- conditional conjunction εἰ
- ἐξ οὗ 'from the moment when' (the Doric equivalent to οὗ being εἶ)
- occasional ὑπεράνω with accumulation of prepositions
- periphrases with ποιέω and ἔχω (for example ἐπιμέλειαν πεποιήται instead of ἐπιμελεῖται)
- preference for nouns with suffixes for abstracts
- occasional ἥμισυ instead of dialectal ἡμισσον
- diminutives
- occasional forms such as hypercorrect καταδίχιον instead of καδδίχιον, cf. κάδδιξ and κάδδιχος
- occasional use of the adverb ὀπίσω as a preposition
- τρεῖς occasionally used as accusative and accusative τρεῖς as nominative (Tables of Tauromenium)

It is important to note that there are no inscriptions written entirely in koine (although many inscriptions are simply too small or fragmentary to know for sure), except perhaps the very short *IGPalermo* 106 (SYR, hd., II ex. – I in.), which shows the genitive plural first declension ending -ῶν instead of -ᾶν and the genitive in -εως of the **eu*-stems. Both of these features are unparalleled in the rest of the inscriptions.

Some of the koine features listed above may have come to Sicilian Greek via the epigraphic formulae that were used in Attic documents, since the phraseology that we find in Hellenistic inscriptions is very Attic.

Commentary on a public inscription

The following inscription nicely illustrates the official Sicilian Doric koina with its mixture of basic Dorisms together with a few more specific Sicilian Dorisms (such as the term ἄλι(α), koineisms and koine wording.

IGDS I 207 (ENT, Idc., III)

ἐπὶ ἀρχόντων Κίπου τοῦ Σωίου καὶ
 In the magistracy of Kipos, son of Soios, and
 Θεοδώρου τοῦ Μάμου, Εὐμενί
 Theodoros, son of Mamos,
 δείου τριακαδὶ ἔδοξε ταὶ βουλαι·
 on the thirtieth of Eumenideios, the assembly decided the following.
 ἐπεὶ δὲ Τεβέριος Κλαυδῖος Γαίου υἱὸς Ἀν-
 Since Tiberius Claudius, son of Gaius,
 τίας τας ἐπιμελητὰς ταχθεὶς εἰς τὰμ πόλιν
 from Antium, in the position of curator in our city,
 5
 τὰν ἅμην πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας χρειαῖς παρι-
 has performed many great services
 σχηται τῷ κοινῷ καὶ γέγονε ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς
 to our community and has been a useful man
 εἰς τὸν συνοικισμόν τας πόλις κατὰ παν-
 for the union of the city at every
 τὰ καιρὸν, δέδοχθαι προξενὸν εἰμειν
 opportunity, it has been decided that he
 10
 αὐτὸν καὶ τὰ τέκνα αὐτοῦ τοῦ δαμῶν τῶν
 and his children be public friends of the city
 Εντελλινῶν, ὅπως καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ ἐπιστῶν-
 of Entella so that people in future should know
 ταὶ ὅτι δύναται ὁ δαμός ο ἅμος καταξίας
 that our city is able to show appropriate
 τας χάριτας ἀποδιδόμειν τοῖς ἀνδρεσ-
 gratitude to useful men.
 σι τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς· τὸ δὲ ἀλίσμα τοῦτο οἱ ἀρ-
 Let the chief magistrates,
 15
 χόντες γραψάντες ἐς χαλκῶμα ἀνα-
 having inscribed this decree on a bronze plaque
 θεντῷ εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον· ἔδοξε ταὶ
 dedicate it in the council-chamber.
 ἀλῖαι Εὐερνείου τέταρται ἱσταμένου.
 Decree of the assembly, on the fourth of Euernios.

This decree shows the following Doric features, which have already been described and are not worth lingering on: accusative $\alpha\mu\alpha\nu$ (l. 6, first person possessive, cf. Attic $\acute{\eta}\mu\acute{\epsilon}\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma$, $-\alpha$, $-\omicron\nu$), genitive $\pi\omicron\lambda\iota\omicron\varsigma$ (l. 8, cf. Attic $\pi\acute{o}\lambda\epsilon\omega\varsigma$), third person singular perfect $\gamma\epsilon\gamma\omicron\nu\epsilon\iota$ (l. 7, perfect with present endings, cf. Attic $\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\omicron\nu\epsilon$), athematic infinitive $\epsilon\iota\mu\epsilon\iota\nu$ (l. 9, cf. Attic $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\alpha\iota$), infinitive $\alpha\pi\omicron\delta\iota\delta\omicron\mu\epsilon\iota\nu$ (l. 13, cf. Attic $\acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\delta\iota\delta\acute{o}\nu\alpha\iota$), dative plural $\alpha\nu\delta\rho\epsilon\sigma\sigma\iota$ (l. 13, cf. Attic $\acute{\alpha}\nu\delta\rho\acute{\alpha}\sigma\iota$), nominative $\alpha\lambda\iota\alpha\sigma\mu\alpha$ ‘decree’ (l. 14), $\alpha\lambda\iota\alpha$ ‘assembly’ (l. 17). The dialectal preposition $\epsilon\varsigma$ is used in line 15, but the koine form $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ appears in line 5. Besides these dialectal features, we also see koine forms such as the article nominative plural $\omicron\iota$ (l. 11) instead of $\tau\omicron\acute{\iota}$, accusative feminine $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\chi\iota\alpha\varsigma$ (l. 12) instead of $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\chi\iota\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ (from $\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\alpha}\chi\iota\omicron\varsigma$, $-\omicron\nu$), and third person singular $\pi\alpha\rho\iota\sigma\chi\eta\tau\alpha\iota$ (l. 6), perfect of $\pi\alpha\rho\acute{\epsilon}\chi\omega$, instead of the expected $\pi\alpha\rho\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\chi\eta\tau\alpha\iota$.⁴⁵

The structure of the decree agrees with that of most decrees from other parts of the Greek world: there is the prescript (ll. 1–3), the enactment formula (l. 3), the motivation clause (ll. 4–9), the motion formula (l. 9), a final clause expressing that the city knows how to thank its benefactors (ll. 11–14), a sentence relating to the physical location of the decree (ll. 14–16), and a final formula with the date on which the assembly took the decision of granting the *proxenia* (ll. 16–17).

The wording of the decree is all koine. For example, the formula $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\chi\iota\alpha\varsigma$ $\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\tau\alpha\varsigma$ is found in many other Hellenistic decrees from various parts of the Greek world: in Attica *IG* II² 505.43 (IV ex.), 1008.62 (II), 1011.43 (II ex.), 1324.11 (II), *SEG* XXI 469.20 (II); in Laconia *IG* V(1) 931.23 (II AD); at Megara *IG* VII 21.14 (II); at Delphi *FD* III1 152.8 (II); in Thessaly *Gonnoi* II 42.15 (II); at Rhodes *IG* XII(1) 155.11 (II); in Calymnus *TC* 33.13 (III); in Crete *IC* I 22.4B.50 (II); in Caria *IM* 92.a.9 (II); at Ephesos *IPr.* 18.16 (III).

It seems then that the structure and the lexicon are typical of the koine, but the decree preserves to a high degree the dialectal phonology and morphology.

⁴⁵ For this perfect, see Curbera (1991: 91) and Mimbrera (2006: 292–5).

Private inscriptions

We do not know as much about the conversational language of the period as we would like: in contrast to the public inscriptions, the private ones do not yield so much material, because, despite being more numerous (there are roughly twice as many private as public inscriptions), they are usually quite small. The most important ones are the contracts of Camarina, Morgantina and other parts of the island,⁴⁶ some *defixiones* from Lilybaeum, Camarina and Morgantina and the cadastral inscription from Halaesa.⁴⁷ The short documents include dedications, epitaphs and a few other inscriptions of different kinds (signatures from artists, ostraka, etc.) from various parts of the island.⁴⁸

The linguistic features attested in the private inscriptions are basically the same as in the public documents (although we do not have examples of all of them due to the scarcity of the material). Therefore the list of features provided earlier will suffice. But, since the type of inscriptions is not homogeneous (in contrast to the public documents), the language is not as uniform as in the public documents. There seems to be more variation in the way the Doric and koine elements interact.

Legal documents

At one end of the spectrum there are the contracts of Camarina and Morgantina, written more or less in the third century (therefore, roughly contemporary with the Entella and Nacona decrees) and showing a very acceptable Doric with few koine features. The following contract will serve to exemplify this:

⁴⁶ *IGDS* I 124, 125, 126; *SEG* XXXIX 1001, 1002, 1008–1013; *SEG* XLVII 1433, 1434, 1435, 1437.

⁴⁷ *SEG* XXXIV 952 (LIL, *def.*, II–I), *SEG* XLVII 1444 (LIL, *def.*, I), *SEG* XLIX 1301 (LIL, *def.*, III ex.), *SEG* XLIX 1302 (LIL, *def.*, III ex.), *IGDS* I 122 (CAM, *def.*, IV/III), *SEG* XLIV 759.5 (CAM, *def.*, IV), *SEG* XLIV 759.6 (CAM, *def.*, IV), *SEG* XXIX 929 (MORG, *def.*, II/I), *SEG* XXIX 931 (MORG, *def.*, II/I), *SEG* XXIX 932 + *SEG* XLVI 1266 (MORG, *def.*, II/I), *SEG* XXIX 933 + *SEG* XLVI 1266 (MORG, *def.*, II/I), *SEG* XXXV 1011 (MORG, *def.*, I?), *IGDS* I 196 (HAL, c., II).

⁴⁸ For a complete catalogue of inscriptions, see Mimbrera (2006) and Mimbrera (forthcoming).

IGDS I 124 (CAM, con., c.300)

[– –] Ηραιου εκ[ται ιστα]μενου· συ[ν]αλλακτηρων πι[ρ]οστατας

Heraios the sixth. President of the negotiators:

Δινα[ρχος] Κλεανδρου. Σω[σι]στρατος Θεων[ος] νη.πρ.⁴⁹ επριατο οικησιν και
Dinarchos son of Kleandros. Sosistratos, son of Theon, of the last phratría and
the first tribe, has bought a house and

τα<ν> καπη[λ]ειαν ταν Διων[ος] πασαν και τα θυρωματα, τοιχους κοινους
a shop from Dion and he also bought the frames and the party walls

ποτι Φιλοξενον και Θρασυλλ<ο>ν, λαυρα [υ]περ Γαου⁵⁰ και

Φε[ρ]σ{σσ}οφασας

to the side of Philoxenos and Thrasyllus, in the district of Pergaios and
Persephone;

παρ Διωνος του Ηρακλει[δ]α τε.πρ. τετρωκοντα ταλαντων. Αμποχοι· 5
he bought from Dion the son of Heracleidas, of the fourth phratría and the first
tribe for forty talents. Guarantors:

Αριστων Εμμενιδα νη.πρ., Φιλιππος Πausανια νητ.πρωτα,
Ariston, etc.

Αρταμιδωρος Ηρακλει[δ]α τε.πρ., Πausανιας Σωσικρατος νη.πρ.

Ηρακλει[ι]ς Νικωνος τρ. [π]ρω., Σανν[ω]ν Ζωπυρου τ[ε]τρα.πρω.,

Σιμος Γ[ε]λωιου νητ.πρ., Μυων⁵¹ Ευθυμενεος εκτ.πρωτ.

ΔΦ

Θευδω[ρ]ος Δαμονος εκ.πρ., Γελων Καλλιστρατου εκτ.πρω.

10

As we can see, the Doric is well preserved in this contract. In fact we find $\bar{\alpha}$, the uncontracted genitive of the *s-stems (Ευθυμενεος l. 9), a personal name with the dialectal root Ἀρταμ- (l. 7), apocope of the preposition παρά (l. 5), genitive of the masculine stems of the first declension in - $\bar{\alpha}$ (Εμμενιδα, Πausανια l. 6), a noun in -τήρ (Attic -τής) in line 1, genitive plural συναλλακτηρων, the preposition ποτι (l. 4), the noun in the genitive Φε[ρ]σ{σσ}οφασας for Persephone (l. 4) and the dialectal numeral τετρωκοντα (cf. Attic τεσσαράκοντα) in l. 5.

There are only a couple of koine features in this inscription. First, nouns which are built with abstract suffixes are used for concrete objects as happens with accusative οικησιν (l. 2) ‘house’ and accusative plural θυρωματα (l. 3) ‘frames’. Secondly, we find the abbreviation πρω. (l. 8) for the koine numeral πρῶτος (the Doric form would have been πρῶτος).

⁴⁹ It probably stands for νήτα (φυλά) and πρώτα.

⁵⁰ Probably to be read λαυρα[ι] Περγαου, cf. SEG XXXIX 998.

⁵¹ Probably to be read Νικων, cf. SEG XXXIX 998.

Other contracts from Camarina, Morgantina and other places on the island display the same well-preserved dialectal character with very few koine features. These koine features pertain to the lexicon, and only rarely to morphology or phonology. Other features attested in the contracts are ῥημισσον, modal particle κα, full grade of the participle of ἐνεμι in the gen. pl. ἐνεόντων, zero grade of *-i-* in the declension of the **i-*stems (but the dative in *-ει*, probably an iotacistic form, is attested once), dative in *-εσσι* of the **i-*stems, personal names with the roots Ἀρταμ- and Ἰαρ- (but sometimes the koine root ἱερ- is attested in common names). Other koine features sporadically attested in the contracts are the personal name Ἑστία (where the dialectal form would be Ἰστία), occasional diminutives and the adjective ἴδιος used as the possessive adjective of the third person.

It needs to be stressed that the contracts are a very formalized type of document (they have a very precise structure which is basically the same in the whole of the Greek world from the fourth century onwards).⁵² Therefore, despite being private texts, it cannot be taken for granted that they reflect the spoken colloquial language of the period.

The other important private legal document that has come down to us is the long cadastral inscription from Halaesa *IGDS* I 196 (HAL, c., II), which I discuss here briefly. It is more recent than most of the contracts mentioned above. For this reason it is not surprising to find that this inscription does display more features of the koine, some of which pertain to the phonology, and not only to the lexicon.

The most important Doric features preserved in this inscription are: prepositions ἐς (l. 2), ἐστε (l. 3), ποτι (l. 3); apocope of prepositions (αυ l. 4); hiatus /eo/ preserved, as well as third person plural ending *-ντι* in ακολουθεοντι (l. 6); Doric future (third person singular ἐργαζεται l. 8, etc.).

The koine features are: nominative plural feminine article αἱ (l. 5), iotacism (probably in acc. Θεματειτιν l. 21, certain in genitive ροειδιου l. 36), diminutives (acc. ροισκον l. 23), εἰ τις instead of

⁵² See de Hoz (1994).

αἴ τις (l. 70), ἱερ-, and abstract nouns used as concrete (genitive διαπαυματος l. 52).

Defixiones and dedications

In contrast to the contracts, which still preserve the Doric features in a remarkable way, the contemporary *defixiones* seem to display more features of the spoken koine. An example is the following *defixio*:

IGDS II.80.2 A (LIL, def., III ex.)

καταδεω Ζωπυριωνα τας Μυμβυρ παρα Φερσε-
 I bind by spells Zopyrion, son of Mumbur to Persephone
 φοναι και παρα Τιτανεσσι καταχθονιοις και παρ ἄ-
 and the subterranean Titans and the dead
 π[ε]ν χομενοισι νεκρ³οις ἐς τοὺς ἀτελεστοὺς και παρ-
 that we avert with prayers.⁵³ I bind him also
 α [ι]αριαις Δαματρος <και> παρ' απευχομε[ν]α[ισ]ιν
 to the priestesses of Demeter and those that we avert with prayers
 καταδεω δε νιν ἐμ βολιμωι, α[ισθησιν] 5
 I bind him in this lead tablet, him
 αυτου και ψυχην αυτου ως μη δυνα[ται –]
 and his soul, so that he cannot
 λαλιν· καταδεω δε νιν ἐμ βολι[μ]ωι, Σ[-c.5-]
 speak; I bind her in this lead tablet
 [..]YN, [α]νταν και νουν και ψυ[χη]ν
 her and her mind and her soul

In this text we find the following dialectal features: normal Dorisms such as the pronoun νιν l. 5 (cf. Attic αὐτόν), features typical of Sicilian Doric, such as datives in -εσσι (l. 2) or the term (dative) βολιμω (l. 5), and archaisms such as the datives in -οισι and -αισι (ll. 3–4). The following elements are typical of the koine: the passage of less common -μι verbs to the thematic type (καταδεω, l. 1, instead of the present καταδίδημι that we find elsewhere in Sicily); η side by side with ᾱ (cf. genitive τας l. 1, but accusative ψυχην l. 6), iotacism in dative ιαριαις (l. 4). The language of this text is formulaic and it preserves several Doric features (among which there is an archaism), but, in contrast to the contract examined

⁵³ ἐς τοὺς ἀτελεστοὺς is probably an intrusion. See Jordan (1997: 391–6).

above, where the koine forms were restricted to items of vocabulary, features of the spoken language, such as iotacism and even η instead of $\bar{\alpha}$, have seeped in.

The linguistic data provided by the other *defixiones* is quite small (there are fifteen of them, but they are all very short). However, features of the spoken koine are more prominent in this group of inscriptions than in the contracts. For example, we sometimes find η instead of $\bar{\alpha}$, specially in personal names; iotacism is common; and non-etymological geminates are occasionally attested. Moreover, the only private inscription completely written in koine is precisely a *defixio*, SEG XXXIV 952 (LIL, *def.*, II–I). The fact that this inscription comes from Lilybaeum could indicate that the koine had a strong presence in this city. However, the scarcity of the material should prevent us from reaching too many conclusions.

Among the Hellenistic inscriptions, the dedications of Acræ,⁵⁴ which can be dated to the end of the Hellenistic and the beginning of the Imperial period (I^a–I^p), stand out. They still show some dialectal features like the preservation of /a:/, contraction of /a: + o/ in /a:/, the dative ending of the athematic stems in -εσσιν/-οις and the preposition ποτί. However, they display quite a number of koine features, like iotacism, non-etymological geminates, $\epsilon\rho$ -, the nominative plural of the article οί/αί, the reflexive pronoun ἑαυτοῦ and the possessive of the third person ἰδιος.

The rest of the private inscriptions are too short or fragmentary to provide interesting linguistic data. The only important information that we get from them concerns the adoption of < η > instead of < $\bar{\alpha}$ > (/a:/) (which is considered to be the most resilient Doric feature across the Doric-speaking regions of Greece). This feature is attested at the end of the Hellenistic period, in private inscriptions of a more informal character than the contracts, and often in personal names:⁵⁵ accusative Ερωτικην SEG XXIX 929 (MORG, *def.*, III), Νικη side by side with Νικα SEG XXXII 915 (Acras-Noto, gl.miss., 104–101). Also in η γυνη SEG XLVII 1444 (LIL,

⁵⁴ SEG XLII 825, 826, 829, 830, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836; IG XIV 204, 205.

⁵⁵ η instead of $\bar{\alpha}$ is already attested in the fourth century in an inscription coming from the Sicilian hinterland, IGDS I 170 (int., ce., IV), which shows the personal name in the gen. Αγοριτης and the acc. την (the inscription is so short that it is impossible to know whether it had any Doric features at all). This document seems too early for this koine feature to have been adopted. It may be that it was written by a non-Doric speaker.

def., I), an inscription which is made up almost entirely of personal names and which is too short to know whether it had any Doric features at all. Lastly <η> instead of <ᾱ> is also attested in *SEG* XXXIV 952 (LIL, *def.*, II–I), which seems to be entirely in koine, although its reading is not assured.

As we have seen, this feature is constantly avoided in the private legal documents of the Hellenistic period. It seems, then, that the presence or absence of koineisms is not only related to the date the document belongs to (for example, the cadastral inscription from Halaesa shows more koine features than the contract from Camarina discussed above, which is earlier), but also to the type of inscription involved (the cadastral inscription from Halaesa is more recent than the *defixio* from Lilybaeum discussed earlier; however, the Doric character seems to be better preserved in it: we always find <ᾱ> and never <η>).

The Sicilian Doric koina in the Hellenistic period: conclusions

The Sicilian Hellenistic inscriptions, and especially the public ones, show a highly standardized language, which can be called Sicilian Doric koina. The Sicilian Doric koina was similar to other Doric koinas such as the koina of Rhodes, of the Achaean League, of north-western Greece, which were also especially used for public purposes. The existence of these Doric koinas is usually taken to indicate the resilience of the Doric-speaking areas to the encroachment of the Attic-based koine.⁵⁶

The Sicilian Doric koina is characterized by a relatively uniform Doric base made up of some banal Doric features and also of some more specific Sicilian features like the reflexive pronoun αὐτόντα. This is in marked contrast with the situation that we must suppose existed at least in archaic times, when Sicily, occupied by colonists of different Doric origin, must have had several dialects (Megarian, Corinthian, Rhodian–Cretan and Ionic).⁵⁷ By Hellenistic times this multiplicity of dialects had disappeared and had been replaced by a (to a certain degree) uniform Sicilian Doric. Therefore we

⁵⁶ For the tenacity of Doric vis-à-vis the koine, see Horrocks (2010: 88).

⁵⁷ See previous chapter.

must assume a process of dialect levelling and mixture among the dialects.⁵⁸ There are signs of this, since some linguistic features seem to have spread across the island. All this happened in the context of increased interaction among the inhabitants of Sicily due to its particular history.

The most important dialectal components of this koina are Rhodian–Cretan (see the infinitive in $-\mu\epsilon\iota\nu$ and the perfect with present endings) and Syracusan (see the dative plural ending $-\epsilon\sigma\sigma\iota$), which correspond to the most important areas from a political point of view. This koina is not a completely uniform language, since there is some variation in features like the athematic infinitive ending ($-\mu\epsilon\nu$ in Syracuse and its colonies, but $-\mu\epsilon\iota\nu$ in the rest of the island).

The Attic-Ionic koine influenced this relatively uniform Doric, giving rise to what we call ‘Sicilian Doric koina’. The prestige of the Attic-Ionic koine was the cause of its adoption in regions outside the Attic empire or the realm of influence of the Macedonian empire, such as Sicily. The koine became the variety used for all official writings. And literacy may have brought with it a competence in koine: it is likely that, when people learnt how to write, they were taught how to write koine (in the same way as they learned to write in a standard script, the Milesian alphabet), and education in Greece certainly implied getting acquainted with classical authors, many of whom were Attic. Across the Mediterranean all business was conducted in koine, which indicates that the upper classes in many parts of the Greek world mastered this variety. But the lower swathes of the population may have become acquainted with the koine as well in many parts, due to the contact with other people who spoke it. This is what happens in Sicily, where in Hellenistic times numerous people from all parts of the Mediterranean arrived at various stages either as slaves or as mercenaries, and probably brought the koine with them.

To the above-mentioned Doric base, then, a number of koine elements were added in a systematic way. So, for example, we always

⁵⁸ In the process of koineization or mixing of related language varieties, levelling and dialect mixture occur in the *prekoiné* stage. After a selection of the competing forms from the dialects has been made we can speak of a *stabilized koine*. See Siegel (1985: 373–6).

get εἴ κα, but never αἶ ἄν. We always get Doric features such as ᾱ, εο preserved in the declension of nouns and adjectives, dative athematic plural ending in -εσσι/-οις, possessive adjective ἄμός, preposition ποτί, presents in -ώω, athematic infinitive in -μεν/-μειν, Doric verbal endings such as -ντι, aorists in -ξα of presents in -ίζω/-άζω. And side by side with these Doric elements, we very often find koine features such as the articles in the nominative plural οἱ/αἱ, the reflexive pronoun αὐτοῦ, the preposition εἰς, numerals such as πρῶτος and forms with the root ἄρτεμ- or ἱερ-. Many of these koine features may have entered the language via epigraphic formulae and legal or institutional terminology (although some Sicilian terminology did remain in use, cf. ὀλία).

The interplay of the dialect with the Attic-Ionic koine is quite complex. The 'Sicilian Doric koina' that arose as a result of it is an abstract notion, since there was not a completely uniform variety, except perhaps for the public documents. The private ones do not provide as much data, but, as far as we can tell, they seem to display the same linguistic features as the public documents. However, they show a greater degree of variation, ranging from a quite well-preserved Doric interspersed with just a few koineisms (such as the contracts of Camarina and Morgantina) to the language of other documents such as the *defixiones* from Lilybaeum, where we find more koine features (and where these koine features are more typical of the spoken language than the ones that we find on public inscriptions). Maybe the koine was particularly strong at Lilybaeum, but it is difficult to say given the scarcity of the evidence. That the koine advances with time is seen in the cadastral inscription from Halaesa IGDS I 196 (HAL, c., II), which, despite being of a similar type to the contracts of Camarina, shows more koine features, because it was written a century later.

Therefore there are, rather than a completely uniform variety (at least in the private inscriptions), different levels of compromise with the koine according to the type of documents, their place of provenance, the date in which they were written and, probably, the education and personal taste of the writer. That is why some documents display a well-preserved Doric character with the intrusion only of minor koineisms, while others are closer to the koine, despite maintaining some dialect colouring, or are entirely

in koine. As a result of all this, a number of hyperdialectalisms and hybrid forms appear in post-classical inscriptions.⁵⁹ They betray the diglossia that pervaded all writing (and presumably speaking) in the Hellenistic period.

The written language of the period has already been described. Although we do not know for sure what was spoken, we may assume that the standardized variety that we read on public inscriptions was probably not only the written Greek of the upper classes, but also their spoken Greek. The lower classes may have spoken something similar to what we find in the less careful private inscriptions such as the *defixiones*. In any case, it is clear that the upper and the lower classes alike used a Doric interspersed with koineisms. There is no evidence whatsoever that the upper classes used koine or that the lower classes would have spoken only dialect, as has been asserted.⁶⁰

This Sicilian Doric koina has a great vitality, since there are practically no inscriptions entirely in koine until the end of the Hellenistic period. Certain dialectal forms are still quoted by Roman authors, such as ἀνεξία ‘resignation’, which, according to Cicero, was a Sicilian term,⁶¹ or προάγορος, the name of an office at Catania.⁶² Moreover, the Sicilian Doric koina was also used as a literary language (in the scientific prose of Archimedes).⁶³

The reason for this vitality may be the attitude towards the dialect and the koine. This attitude is generally marked by political motives: it seems that the Syracusans took pride in their dialect.⁶⁴ The thriving and prosperous Sicily was proud of its traditions, and Hiero was considered the preserver of its Doric character: Σικελίας σκαπτοῦχος ὁ Δωρικός (Archimelos *ap.* Ath. 5.209c).⁶⁵

⁵⁹ For example, the participle παργενᾶθεντες *IGDS* I 206 (NAC, l.c., III) is a hyperdialectalism. The aorist in -θη- of this verb is typical of the koine. But it shows a hyperdoric -ᾶ- instead of the expected -η-.

⁶⁰ Cf. Sicca (1924: 148, 156–60), Consani (1996: 116, 125–6, 128; 1997: 61–2).

⁶¹ Cic. *Att.* 5.11.5. ⁶² Cic. *Verr.* 4.50. For this, see Biville (1993: 130).

⁶³ Archimedes’ language seems a bit more prone to koineisms than official inscriptions (see Mimbrela (2011: 68–9)), which is due to the conservatism of inscriptions (in the same way as the influence of Ionian is apparent in Attic first in literary prose and then in inscriptions: cf. Dover (1981), Lazzaroni (1984), López Eire (1993a: 44, 52)). For Archimedes’ language, see also Heiberg (1884).

⁶⁴ See Theoc. 15.90 and Chapter 10. ⁶⁵ See Cassio (1989: 143–5).

Another reason is the fact that in Sicily there was an important literary tradition in Doric, not only comedy (Epicharmus and Sophron),⁶⁶ but also prose (the doctor Acron of Agrigentum, who lived in the second half of the fifth century, wrote a treatise on medicine in Doric, and the Syracusan cook Mithaecus was the author of a culinary treatise).⁶⁷ The rather good preservation of the Doric character of Hellenistic Sicilian Greek may also be due to the fact that Sicily soon developed a close relationship with Rome, and so must have cut its ties with Greece.⁶⁸ Therefore the Attic-Ionic koine would have had a smaller impact in Sicily than in other parts of the Greek world.

Despite the preservation of its Doric character, the language spoken in Hellenistic Sicily was certainly very different from the one used in archaic times. A proof of this is the fact that the archaic laws of Diocles (fifth century) were difficult to understand and so had to be translated by Cephalus in the time of Timoleon (fourth century), and by Polydorus in the time of King Hiero (third century).⁶⁹

It is not possible to detect any traces of Latin influence on Sicilian Greek during this period other than the Latin personal names which are frequent in the inscriptions, and which often follow the declension of nouns with nom. -ις, gen. -ι. As a matter of fact, Latin inscriptions during this period are very scanty and we know that Latin was not even generalized for administrative purposes. This tallies well with the fact that the impact of Italian culture on Hellenistic Sicily was very limited (for example, there was very little influence from Italian architecture).⁷⁰ This is a sign of the strength of Greek language and culture during this period.

However, we know that the importance of Latin was greater in the Imperial period and it would finally win the day: Greek was eventually eradicated from Sicily and nowadays it is only spoken in two enclaves of Calabria and Salento, although there is some dispute as to whether this Greek continues the ancient

⁶⁶ For the language of Epicharmus and Sophron, see Willi (2008).

⁶⁷ For the Doric prose of Sicily, see Cassio (1989).

⁶⁸ See Sicca (1924: 157). ⁶⁹ D.S. 13.35.

⁷⁰ See Wilson (1990: 29–32), Pinzone (2004: 33).

Greek dialects spoken there or whether it continues the Greek of the Byzantine settlers.⁷¹

The work ahead of us is to study the late Sicilian Greek from the Roman period and to assess its linguistic character in comparison with the Greek of Hellenistic and Byzantine times.⁷² This task is rather daunting, since the inscriptions from the Roman period are scattered among many different publications. However, to end on a more optimistic note, in the last few years the situation has improved a bit with the publication of some collections of inscriptions, so hopefully the near future will see an increase in the scientific contributions devoted to the study of Roman and Byzantine Sicily.⁷³

⁷¹ See for example Fanciullo (1991).

⁷² For the Sicilian Greek of the Byzantine period, see Menas (1994).

⁷³ Such as Bitto's *IGL Messina* and Korhonen's *IMCCatania*.

CHAPTER 9

INTIMATIONS OF KOINE IN SICILIAN DORIC

The information provided by the *Antiatticist*

Albio Cesare Cassio

Introduction

Over the past few years a number of books and articles have tried to rescue Sicilian Doric comedy and mime from the state of neglect into which they had previously fallen. Suffice it to mention Kassel and Austin's new edition of the texts, Kerkhof's dissertation on Doric farce, my own chapter on Epicharmus in Andreas Willi's collection of essays on the language of Greek comedy, James Hordern's commentary on Sophron and Andreas Willi's recent book, *Sikelismos*, on language, literature and society in Greek Sicily.¹

Even if Doric comedy is known to us only in fragmentary form, we have enough texts to form an opinion on the basic level of its language, which seems to be more or less the same as that of Aristophanes, namely a type of colloquial level that can allow vulgar terms now and then. Willi pleads for this colloquial level in Epicharmus and tries to isolate its components, among them those he calls 'Koineismen', namely lexical, morphological or syntactic items that find a close correspondence in the later koine, for example χαλκός meaning not 'copper' or 'bronze' but 'money' or the passive aorist γενηθῆναι, attested in Epicharmus and very frequently used in the koine instead of γενέσθαι.² In some instances it is fairly clear that the koine borrowed some of those terms from spoken Doric and especially Sicilian Doric, in other cases the situation is different: γενηθῆναι is amply attested in the *Corpus Hippocraticum* (see Willi (2008: 149)) and need not be imported from Doric.

¹ Kassel and Austin (2001), Kerkhof (2001), Cassio (2002a), Hordern (2004), Willi (2008).

² Willi (2008: 147–9).

Epicharmus' 'Koineismen' are only a side-issue in Willi (2008), and for this reason the instances quoted and discussed there are not numerous. But in fact they are quite a few and pose fairly complicated problems. Many years ago, when I began to look at the literary Doric of Epicharmus and Sophron more closely than I had done before, I was struck by the numerous quotations of Epicharmus, Dinolochus (his pupil or son) and Sophron found in a short lexicographical work ultimately going back to the second century AD usually called *Antiatticist*.

The *Antiatticist*: a lexicon and a pamphlet at the same time

Some information on this work might come in useful at this stage.³ It is a drastic Byzantine abridgement of a presumably long treatise going back to the second century AD; the general purpose of the original was to justify the written use of many koine words in opposition to the 'strict' Atticists who admitted only obsolete Attic vocabulary of the 'golden age', i.e. the fifth century BC. To this aim the unknown author quoted not only a number of late classical or Hellenistic Attic writers, but also non-Attic ones; it seems clear that most of his material was taken from Aristophanes of Byzantium and especially from his work *Περὶ τῶν ὑποπιπτευομένων μὴ εἰρησθαι τοῖς παλαιοῖς* (see Latte (1915); W. J. Slater (1986: 5–27)). The original was epitomized and the epitome copied⁴ along with other lexica into a tenth-century manuscript that came into the possession of Pierre Séguier (1588–1672, hence the collective name *Lexica Segueriana*) and eventually ended up in the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris (Codex Coislinianus 345, ff. 156–165^v; cf. Devreesse (1945: 329–30)). The standard edition is still that of Bekker (1814: 77–116).

It is important to emphasize, since this point is often neglected by those who use the *Antiatticist*, that we are not dealing with a lexicon proper, i.e. a 'neutral' collection of words followed by the name of the author who used them. We often forget that the *Antiatticist* has, so to speak, an axe to grind. For instance, *Antiatt.* 84.26–7

³ A useful short account can be found in Dickey (2007: 97–8).

⁴ With the title ἄλλος ἀλφάβητος; the name *Antiatticista* is due to David Ruhnken.

Bekker βασιλίσσα· Ἀλκαῖος (Comicus, fifth–fourth century BC), Γανυμήδει (fr. 6 K.-A.), Ἀριστοτέλης Ὀμηρικοῖς ἀπορήμασιν (fr. 179 Rose) does not just provide the reader with some information on the authors where a certain word can be found, but is meant to support those writers of Imperial times who wanted to use βασιλίσσα ‘queen, empress’. To this end, two authors writing in Attic are quoted (although Aristotle was not an Athenian by birth). As a matter of fact, βασιλίσσα was a ‘Hellenistic’ term condemned by the Atticist Phrynichus (*Ecl.* nos. 197 and 231 Fischer), who recommended the ancient and ‘pure’ Attic forms βασιλεία or βασιλὶς instead.

In the case of βασιλίσσα we have plenty of information (it is first attested in Xenophon and then becomes extremely common in Hellenistic and later prose); in other cases, however, things stand differently, in the sense that the *Antiatticist* is our *sole* source of information, and the authors who were invoked in order to legitimize – so to speak – the use of a certain koine word had written in literary dialects completely different from Attic. A good example is what we are told a propos of a word for ‘ambush’, ἐνεδρεία (*Antiatt.* 95.27–8) ἐνεδρεία· ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐνέδρα. Ἐπίχαρμος Ὀδυσσεῖ αὐτομόλῳ (fr. 102 K.-A.).

We are provided with two important pieces of information at one stroke. On the one hand we are told that ἐνεδρεία was used by Epicharmus in a play put on the stage probably at the beginning of the fifth century BC in Doric Syracuse; on the other we have every reason to believe that ἐνεδρεία was more or less current in some varieties of spoken Greek of the second century AD instead of the standard form ἐνέδρα. It is certain that ἐνεδρεία was mentioned in this treatise precisely because the ‘legitimacy’, so to speak, of this word in the prose of Imperial times was at stake. Interestingly enough, ἐνεδρεία is found elsewhere only in a passage of the so-called G life of Aesop, which in its present form is certainly very late: ἐπιβουλαί, ἐνεδρεῖαι, μάχαι (Perry (1952: 55)). We shall return to ἐνεδρεία in a short time.

The numerous instances of agreement between Epicharmus and Sophron on the one hand and the koine on the other call for an explanation, and it would be wonderful if a simple and elegant one could be found. Unfortunately, this is not the case. Every instance

of agreement seems to have its own explanation, although some general tendencies are clearly visible.

Doric and Italic borrowings in the koine

Borrowings from Doric dialects are old acquaintances of all those interested in the origins of the koine. Possibly the best-known instance, and one of the most striking, is βουνός ‘hill’, the direct ancestor of Modern Greek βουνό ‘mountain’. The Attic term for ‘hill’ is κολώνη,⁵ while βουνός must have been used in many Doric *poleis*, notably Cyrene (Hdt. 4.199) and Syracuse. Phrynichus the Atticist informs us that it was very common in literary works based on the Syracusan dialect: ἐν δὲ τῇ Συρακουσίᾳ ποιήσεται (Gloss. Italot. 9 K.-A. = Phryn. Ecl. no. 332 Fischer) καθωμίληται. ἄλλ’ οὐ προσίεται ὁ Ἀττικισμός, περὶ οὗ ἀγωνιζόμεθα, τὴν ἄλλοδαπὴν διάλεξιν ‘[βουνός] is commonly used in Sicilian Syracusan poetry, but Atticism, which is our goal, does not admit foreign dialectal words’. To all appearances βουνός was imported from Doric-speaking areas.

Obviously there are other instances of borrowings from Doric dialects. An impressive one is that of πώμαλα, based on the Doric adverb πῶ (an old ablative: Lejeune (1939: 250)) ‘in what manner?’, ‘on what basis?’, which soon became equivalent to οὐδαμῶς; in Attic it is attested in the *Plutus* of Aristophanes (line 66) and in Demosthenes, but seems to have gone out of use after the fourth century BC. A scholion on Demosthenes tells us that it was imported into Athens by Syracusan exiles: *Schol.* (A) D. 19.51 no. 134a πώμαλα· ὅφ’ ἐν ἀναγνωστέον· λέγουσι δὲ [ὅτι] Συρακουσίων εἶναι τὴν φωνὴν ἀντὶ τοῦ ‘οὐδαμῶς’, ἔμαθον δὲ αὐτὴν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀπὸ τῶν φυγάδων (‘They say that it is the Syracusan word for “not at all”; the Athenians have learnt it from the exiles’).

Moreover, the names of weights and measures common in the Greek prose of Hellenistic and Imperial times (λίτρα, λίτρι-αῖος, ἡμίλιτριον, ἡμίλιτρον, οὐγκία, ἡμιούγκιον) ultimately derive from Syracusan Doric. At a very early date the political and

⁵ Cf. Latin *collis* and English *hill* (< Proto-Germanic **hul-ni*-).

commercial exchanges between continental Greece and Sicily had made the Greeks familiar with the Italic system of weights and coins that had been adopted in archaic Syracuse – basically, a *litra* weighing three hundred and twenty-seven grams, divided into twelve ounces. For reasons of phonological developments of an original aspirated dental **-dʰ*, Syracusan Doric imported λίτρα from an Italic language, but certainly not from Latin, where from the same root we have *libra* (Cassio (2002a: 68)). The early familiarity of the Athenians with this system is made clear by a Sophoclean fragment (1065 Pearson), in which a money-changer is called λιτροσκόπος. In Hellenistic times the influence of Latin caused only slight modifications of the traditional names – the old ὀγκία of Epicharmus (fr. 138 K.-A.) becoming οὐγκία under the pressure of Latin *uncia*; yet the Roman domination never managed to impose on Greek the Latin form *libra* – something I find revealing of the antiquity and strength of the old forms imported from Doric Sicily.⁶

It comes as no surprise that λίτρα, οὐγκία, ἡμιλίτριον, ἡμιούγκιον, amply used in the spoken Greek of Imperial times, are attested in the *Antiatticist*, who often quotes Epicharmus with an aim to ‘legitimize’ their use in writing. The Greeks knew that they were imported terms, and various short-sighted purists turned their noses up at them. In his commentary on Hippocrates’ *Epidemics* Galen describes the bleeding of a woman, giving the quantities of blood in λίτραι and οὐγκίαι and then proceeds to make fun of the ‘sophists’ who on reading his text will immediately start niggling over the literary sources of λίτρα and οὐγκία:

Galen. in Hippocr. *Epid.* 6.17b.82.4 τῇ μὲν πρώτῃ τῶν ἡμερῶν ἀφείλον τοῦ αἵματος ὡς μίαν καὶ ἡμίσειαν λίτραν, [. . .] τῇ τρίτῃ δ’ οὐ πολλῶ πλεον ἡμίσεος μιᾶς λίτρας, οὐγκίαι γὰρ ἦσαν ὀκτώ. σοφιστῆς μὲν οὖν ταῦτα ἀναγνοὺς ζητεῖν ἄρξεται, τίς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὠνόμασε λίτρας ἢ τίς οὐγκίας; ἰατρός δ’ ἐπιθυμήσει γινῶναι κτλ.

On the first day I bled about one and a half pounds of blood . . . on the third day not much more than half a pound (for it was eight ounces). At this point a sophist who reads this will begin to investigate who among the Greeks ever said ‘litras’ and who said ‘ounces’; but the doctor only wishes to know etc.

⁶ On λίτρα and οὐγκία see also [Chapters 1](#) and [6](#).

In the above-mentioned cases borrowings are certain, and, as Willi (2008: 147) rightly emphasizes, from colloquial strata of Syracusan Doric. In other instances things stand differently, in the sense that the use of a certain koine word on the part of a Sicilian author does not prove that the word in question was actually imported from Sicilian Doric.

Quotations of Sicilian poetry in the *Antiatticist*

It would probably need a whole book to discuss at length the features common to Sicilian Doric and the koine. All I can do at the moment is to discuss some of the examples provided by the *Antiatticist*. In what follows I append a complete list of the entries in which the *Antiatticist* quotes Epicharmus, Dinolochus or Sophron, but I shall discuss only those I regard as most relevant to my main issue.

- (1) 82.16 Ἀνυπόδετος· Ἐπίχαρμος Ὀδυσσεῖ (Epich. fr. 107 K.-A.).
- (2) 82.29 Ἀνάδεσαι· οἶον ἐγγύησαι. Ἀντιφῶν πρὸς Πολύευκτον, Δεινόλοχος Ἀλθαΐα (Dinol. fr. 1 K.-A.).
- (3) 83.28 Ἀφάννης· Ἐπίχαρμος Ἡρακλείτῳ (Epich. fr. 67 K.-A.; *leg.* Ἀφάννης· Ἐπίχαρμος Ἡρακλεῖ τῷ < >).
- (4) 85.24 Βλεν<ν>όν· τὸν νωθῇ καὶ μωρόν. Σώφρων Προμηθεῖ (*leg.* Προμυθίω, Sophr. fr. 51 K.-A.).
- (5) 90.3 Δεούμεθα· ἀντὶ τοῦ δεηθισόμεθα. Ἐπίχαρμος Δευκαλίωνι (Epich. fr. 118 K.-A.).
- (6) 93.25 Ἐκποιῆσαι· ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐκτελέσαι. Σώφρων (Soph. fr. 76 K.-A.).
- (7) 95.27 Ἐνεδρεΐα· ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐνέδρα. Ἐπίχαρμος Ὀδυσσεῖ αὐτομόλῳ. (Epich. fr. 102 K.-A.).
- (8) 98.32 Ἡμιλίτριον· Ἐπίχαρμος Χείρωνι (Epich. fr. 290 K.-A.).
- (9) 98.33 Ἡμιούγκιον· Ἐπίχαρμος Ἀμύκῳ. (Epich. fr. 8 K.-A.; ἡμιόγκιον Ahrens, cf. fr. 138 K.-A. = Phot. 314.26 ὀγκίαν· τὸν σταθμόν).
- (10) 99.1 Ἡμίνα [*leg.* ἡμίνα]· ἐν τῇ ἀναφερομένη εἰς Ἐπίχαρμον Ὀψοποιΐα (Epich. fr. 289 K.-A.).
- (11) 105.19 Κακεντρεχῆς· Ἐπίχαρμος Πολίταις (Epich. fr. 242 K.-A.).
- (12) 105.32 Λίτρα· ἦν μὲν καὶ νόμισμα Σικελικόν· ὅτι δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ σταθμοῦ, Ἐπίχαρμος Ἐλπιδίῃ ἢ Πλούτῳ (Epich. fr. 37 K.-A.).
- (13) 110.22 Οὔγκίαν· τὸν σταθμόν (Epich. fr. 138 K.-A.; cf. Phot. 314.26 ὀγκίαν τὸν σταθμόν· Σώφρων καὶ Ἐπίχαρμος).

- (14) 112.16 Παράκαιρος· ἀντὶ τοῦ ἄκαιρος. Ἐπίχαρμος Πολίταις (*leg. Πολιτεία*) (Epich. fr. 243 K.-A.).
- (15) 112.28 Πιπτάκιον εἶπε Δεινόλοχος Τηλέφῳ (Dinol. fr. 7 K.-A.)
- (16) 112.29 Πέπαινται· τὸ πληθυντικόν. ὁ αὐτὸς Κωμωδοτραγωδία (Dinol. fr. 3 K.-A.)
- (17) 113.14 Ῥαπίδα· τὴν βελόνην. Ἐπίχαρμος. (Epich. fr. 139 K.-A.: 'garfish').
- (18) 114.5 Σωννύω· ἀντὶ τοῦ σῶζω. Δεινόλοχος Μηδείᾳ (Dinol. fr. 5 K.-A.).

No. (1) provides a good illustration of what I said above: the *Anti-atticist* is no sheer reservoir of glosses, but a polemical pamphlet proper. The extremely compressed text, ἀνυπόδετος· Ἐπίχαρμος Ὀδυσσεῖ means in fact: 'Dear reader of my treatise, you have been told by some very strict Atticists that the only acceptable form is Attic ἀνυπόδετος with an *eta*. But remember that ἀνυπόδετος with an *epsilon* is not just the vulgar form that it is usually made out to be, but was used by the old and famous comic writer Epicharmus, so you should not be ashamed to employ it in writing your Greek prose'.

What was the difference between ἀνυπόδετος with a short [e] and ἀνυπόδητος with a long [e]? From the reconstructed Indo-European root of δέω, **deh₁-*, the verbal adjective was formed from the zero grade, namely δετός with a short [e] (< **dh₁-tós*), found in many old compounds, like χρυσόδετος, λινόδετος, ἐλεφαντόδετος, ἀσύνδετος. In Attic an important innovation occurred: since δέω had an aorist indicative ἔδησα it was synchronically connected with verbs of totally different origin with a present in -έω, an aorist in -ησα and a verbal adjective in -ητός, like κινέω ἐκίνησα κινήτός (and ἀκίνητος), ποιέω ἐποίησα ποιητός (and αὐτοποίητος), ταρβέω ἐτάρβησα ἀτάρβητος; this led to the creation of (ὑποδέω ὑπέδησα) ἀνυπόδητος. In Aristophanes we systematically find ἀνυπόδητος with a long [e] because of the verb ὑποδέω, but systematically λινόδετος because the compound was an old one, and a verb **λινοδέω* did not exist. To many Atticists ἀνυπόδητος was the only admissible form (Phryn. *Ecl.* 419 Fischer), but the short form was very common everywhere outside Attica, and it cannot be excluded that it was used in classical Attic too, possibly in some conservative milieu. In the case of ἀνυπόδετος with a

short [e], which becomes common in prose from late Hellenistic times onwards, there is no need to assume a specific pressure of the Syracusan dialect on the koine: both Epicharmus and the koine simply use an old and perfectly legitimate form; it was classical Attic that innovated.

Borrowings or independent developments?

Another interesting entry, but for completely different reasons, is no. (2), ἀνάδεξαι· οἷον ἐγγύησαι. Ἀντιφῶν πρὸς Πολύευκτον (fr. 47 Blass – Thalheim), Δεινόλοχος Ἀλθαίᾳ (fr. 1 K.-A.). Both the Attic orator Antiphon and Dinolochus, a son or pupil of Epicharmus, used the verb ἀναδέχομαι (/δέκομαι), literally ‘to take upon oneself’, in the sense of ἐγγυάομαι ‘to pledge oneself to do something, to promise something to somebody’. It is obviously a specific development of the general meaning of the verb, found in other Doric areas, notably in the Gortyn Law Code (IC IV 72.9.24–5 ἀνδεκσάμενος, 41 ἀνδέκεσται ‘to stand bail for somebody’). But it is certainly not attested in Doric alone: see Hdt. 5.91.2 ἄνδρας . . . ἀναδεκομένους ὑποχειρίας παρέξειν τὰς Ἀθήνας where it means ‘to promise’ (‘[men] who promised to make Athens subject to us’), and Antiphon is likelier to derive it from Ionic than from Syracusan Doric. The meaning ‘to guarantee’ became current in the koine: cf. Plb. 11.25.9 (Πόπλιος) ἔφη γὰρ δεῖν ἀναδέξασθαι τοῖς στρατιώταις τὴν τῶν ὀψωνίων ἀπόδοσιν ‘For (Publius) said that it was necessary to promise the soldiers their pay’. In this case, too, the *Antiatticist*’s message is: ‘one is entitled to use ἀναδέχομαι instead of Attic ἐγγυάομαι, since ἀναδέχομαι meaning ἐγγυάομαι is attested in good and ancient authors anyhow’.

It should be noted that ἀνάδεξαι is unexceptionable for Antiphon but not for Doric comedy and mime, where we expect ἄνδεξαι: ἄν for ἀνά is consistently attested elsewhere in Doric comedy and is precisely what we expect in a Doric dialect. It is commonly assumed that Dinolochus used a non-dialect form for one reason or another: Kassel and Austin (2001: 178) print ἀνάδεξαι, and Willi (2008: 130) writes ‘abweichend Dinolochus fr. 1’. I strongly doubt it. The *Antiatticist* aimed at guiding those who wanted to

write correct Greek in the second century AD, so he wrote the words as they were pronounced and written in his time even if those found in the classical authors he quoted were formally slightly different. See e.g. no. (9) ἡμιούγκιον· Ἐπίχαρμος Ἀμύκω. (fr. 8 K.-A.): it is absolutely certain that Epicharmus used the form ὄγκια, with a short [o] (cf. 9.2 and 10.2 K.-A. πεντόγκιον); so Ahrens must have been right in assuming that Epicharmus wrote ἡμιόγκιον (K.-A. *ad* fr. 8), not ἡμιούγκιον. In conclusion, I assume that Antiphon was indebted to Ionic for his ἀνάδεξι, and in my opinion it is highly likely that one should restore ἀνδεξι in Dinolochus exactly as ὄγκια must be restored in Epicharmus.

A similar instance is no. (6), ἐκποιῆσαι· ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐκτελέσαι. Σώφρων (fr. 76 K.-A.); cf. Phot. ε 464 ἐκπεποιήται· τὸ ἐπιτετέλεσται. In Attic ἐκποιέω means either 'to produce' or 'to generate' (both meanings are found in Ar. *Pax* 708 ταύτη ξυνοικῶν ἐκποιῶ σαυτῷ βότρυς 'living with her, produce fine grapes'); it also means 'to give a child for adoption', but not 'to accomplish', or 'to complete' in Attic. On the contrary, the meaning 'to complete' is very common in Herodotus (e.g. 1.164), especially with reference to the completion of buildings, and becomes widespread later on. There is no specific reason why the koine should have imported ἐκποιέω from Sicily.

The adjective παράκαιρος 'unseasonable, ill-timed' (no. (14)) read in the pseudo-Epicharmean *Politeia* (fr. 243 K.-A.) is obviously based on the expression παρὰ καιρόν, which is rarely used in Attic but is frequent in early authors connected with the Doric world like Pindar and Theognis. As to the compound παράκαιρος, it appears very early in Hesiod as παρακαίριος (*Op.* 329 παρακαίρια ῥέζων 'committing unseemly things'), but later on its occurrences in classical literature are infinitely less numerous than those of ἄκαιρος. Παράκαιρος and παρακαίριος are wholly absent from the main Attic authors (almost completely unattested in the orators; the adverb παρακαίρως once in Isocrates *Demonic.* 9) and their number increases only in Byzantine times. παράκαιρος seems to have been especially successful in the Doric dialects whence, like many other Doric features, it found its way into the koine – to my mind not necessarily from Syracuse. In any case it was not used at low sociolinguistic levels; note that it is quoted

from the *Politeia*, an Epicharmean forgery of philosophical and moralizing content, highly valued by Aristoxenus.⁷

More mysterious is *κακεντρεχής* (no. (11)), translated by *LSJ* as ‘active in mischief’ and still used in Modern Greek. It is clearly based on *κακοῖς ἐντρεχής*, and looks like a relatively recent creation. Again, it is first attested in the pseudo-Epicharmean *Politeia* (fr. 242 K.-A.), then in Polybius, Strabo and various Byzantine authors. It may have been imported from Sicily, but I do not feel completely certain.

Even more mysterious is no. (15) *πιττάκιον* ‘writing tablet’, ‘message’. There is no etymology, and the word invariably appears as *πιττάκιον* with a double *tau*: no variant **πισσάκιον* is attested. There is the usual chronological gap between the first occurrence (Doric comedy) and the second (Plb. 31.13.9), then it is frequently found in papyri and inscriptions of Hellenistic and Roman times, not to speak of Byzantine literature, where it is almost standard. It may have spread from Sicily to the rest of the Greek world – but skirting around Attica, where *δέλτος*, *γράμμα* or *πινάκιον* were used (*πινάκιον* is very common in Attic comedy).

At this point let us go back to *ἐνεδρεία* (no. (7)), a clear innovation on *ἐνέδρα*. The noun *ἔδρα* (< **sed-rā*) belongs to an old and unproductive type (Chantraine (1933: 223)), one of the few parallels being *τέφρα* ‘ash’ (*τεφ-* < **d^heg^{wh}-rā*, cf. Skt. *dahati* ‘burn’). The verb corresponding to *ἐνέδρα* was, and still is in Modern Greek, *ἐνεδρεύω*.

There are innumerable instances of verbs in *-εύω* corresponding to nouns in *-εία*, like *δυναστεύω* : *δυναστεία*; more specifically, *συνεδρεύω* : *συνεδρεία*, *ἐφεδρεύω* : *ἐφεδρεία*, *προεδρεύω* : *προεδρεία*, so *ἐνεδρεία* is perfectly understandable as a back formation from *ἐνεδρεύω*. To my mind the Syracusan dialect and the koine created it independently; what is remarkable is the enormous chronological distance between the first two occurrences, and the extreme rarity of the innovation – at least to us: in any case the fact that *ἐνεδρεία* is quoted by the *Antiatticist* guarantees that it was in common use in Imperial times. Note that Modern Greek has the old form *ἐνέδρα*.

⁷ See Kassel and Austin (2001: 138–40, frs. 240–3); Cassio (1985: 48).

Agreements with Hellenistic and Modern Greek

Another interesting entry is no. (5), δεούμεθα instead of δεηθη-σόμεθα. Here the *Antiatticist* brings to light not only an interesting feature of the classical Syracusan dialect, but also a development of the koine which is very rarely attested in writing, although it must have been fairly common in the spoken language. In classical Attic, the future of the verbs χέω ‘pour’ and δέω ‘need’ were problematic: the future of χέω was identical to the present, while the future of δέω was δεήσω. In Hellenistic times, if not before, χέω received a brand-new future, well attested in the *Septuagint*, χεῶ, χεῖς, χεῖ (always uncontracted), χεοῦμεν, etc. As to δέω δέομαι, beside δεήσω δεήσομαι a new future δεῶ δεοῦμαι was created, again attested in the Greek Bible, *Deuteron*. 15.8 δάνειον δανιεῖς αὐτῷ ὅσον ἐπιδέεται, καθ’ ὅσον ἐνδεῖται ‘you shall surely lend him sufficient for his need, in that which he will want’: this is exactly the type of future that our treatise tries to shield from Atticist attack.

As to Epicharmus, a long time ago Wackernagel (1916: 244) rightly saw that δεούμεθα must have been the final outcome of a Doric future proper. He suggested correcting it to δεῦμεθα since he regarded a development **de(w)eho-* > *de(w)o:-* as a contraction possible in Attic only. But later research – conducted basically by Volkmar Schmidt, Julián Méndez Dosuna and myself⁸ – showed that in this and other instances there was no contraction, but in a sequence [eo], originally dissyllabic, the first vowel lost its syllabic value, became a consonantal [i], which was often dropped, and the loss was counterbalanced by compensatory lengthening of the second vowel, if it occurred in an open syllable. In all likelihood Epicharmean δεούμεθα is sound as it is transmitted; it coincides perfectly with the koine form, but they are likely to have originated independently. At Syracuse δεούμεθα was a true Doric future, while in the koine it was due to the widespread tendency to create new contracted futures for verbs with a present in -άω -ίω -έω: from μηνίω ‘to be angry’ not μηνίσω but μηνιῶ, from κονίωμα κονιοῦμαι etc.⁹

⁸ Schmidt (1978), Méndez Dosuna (1993b), Cassio (2002a: 65–6).

⁹ Cf. Schwyzler (1939: 785).

A striking, but easily explicable, innovation is no. (18) $\sigma\omega\nu\nu\acute{\omega}$, the Syracusan equivalent of Attic $\sigma\acute{\omega}\zeta\omega$. This form was certainly created on the analogy of $\zeta\omega\nu\nu\acute{\omega}$ and its aorist, according to the following proportion: $\xi\zeta\omega\sigma\alpha : \zeta\omega\nu\nu\acute{\omega} = \xi\sigma\omega\sigma\alpha : x$, where $x = \sigma\omega\nu\nu\acute{\omega}$.

A couple of observations are in order at this point. In both the Syracusan dialect and the koine $\sigma\omega\nu\nu\acute{\omega}$ presupposes the thematic forms $-\nu\acute{\upsilon}\omega$, $-\nu\acute{\upsilon}\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ etc. instead of the athematic ones ($-\nu\bar{\upsilon}\mu\iota$, $-\nu\bar{\upsilon}\varsigma$ etc.); for the Syracusan dialect this is confirmed by the imperfect $\tilde{\omega}\mu\nu\tilde{\epsilon}$ found in Epich fr. 99.4 K.-A. (the corresponding athematic form would have been $\tilde{\omega}\mu\nu\bar{\upsilon}$); on the other hand, Atticist doctrine insisted on the use of $-\nu\upsilon\mu\iota$ and regarded $-\nu\acute{\upsilon}\omega$ as koine (cf. for instance Moeris 197.21 $\zeta\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\gamma\nu\mu\iota$ Ἀττικοί, $\zeta\epsilon\upsilon\gamma\gamma\acute{\upsilon}\omega$ Ἑλληνες).¹⁰

It should be noted that the influence of $\zeta\omega\nu\nu\acute{\omega}$ becomes even more obvious if we admit that $\langle\zeta\rangle$ was already pronounced [z] and not [dz] or [zd] (Allen (1987: 58)). In this case the only difference between $\xi\sigma\omega\sigma\alpha$ and $\xi\zeta\omega\sigma\alpha$ would have been that between an unsounded [s] and its sounded version [z].

The most striking thing of all is that after Dinolochus $\sigma\omega\nu\nu\acute{\omega}$ seems to vanish from Greek literature. Since the verb was quoted by the *Antiatticist*, it must have been used in the second century AD, but there seems to be no trace of it in written texts, earlier or later. Yet there is important proof that it was used at spoken level: at the end of the nineteenth century Hatzidakis (1892: 157) noted that in the Cretan dialect of his times an aorist $\xi\sigma\acute{\omega}\nu\nu\sigma\alpha$ and a future $\theta\acute{\alpha}\sigma\omega\nu\nu\acute{\omega}\sigma\omega$ were in common use, which clearly presuppose an ancient present $\sigma\omega\nu\nu\acute{\omega}$ (which had in the meantime become $\sigma\omega\nu\nu\acute{\upsilon}\zeta\omega$ in the Cretan dialect).

Conclusions

It is now time to draw some conclusions. If we look at those koine features that are paralleled in Sicilian Doric the main question is: to what extent did they arise independently, and to what extent were they borrowed from Sicilian Doric? Furthermore, did all

¹⁰ In the *New Testament* thematic forms outnumber the athematic ones: see Blass, Debrunner and Rehkopf (1976: §92–4).

or most of the borrowings belong to a colloquial stratum of the language?

Most of the discussion so far has already made clear that in a way the replies to these questions are as diverse as the relevant entries in the *Antiatticist*. There is, I believe, only one instance of an archaism common to Sicilian Doric and the koine: ἀνυπόδετος versus Attic ἀνυπόδητος, the latter being an innovation. Obviously in this case we should not assume a 'special relationship' of any kind between Sicilian Doric and the koine: -δετος with a short [e] must have been extremely old and obvious in all the dialects, except Attic. The clearest instances of borrowings are of course the words of Italic origin for weights and coins like λίτρα and ὀγκία, but they can hardly be defined as colloquial vs non-colloquial.

The material offered by the *Antiatticist* in his quotations from Sicilian poetry has two faces, one classical and one Imperial, and is obviously interesting to different types of scholars for different reasons. It is now impossible to deal at length with the Atticist approach and the various reactions to it, but it is clear that the lexical items and morphological features that made the purists turn their noses up belonged to very different categories. They evidently disliked παράκαιρος, which was in fact extremely rare in Attic literature, but after all Hesiod had παρακαίρια ῥέζων, and Isocrates the adverb παρακαίρως, so παράκαιρος was hardly substandard: for instance, it was used in the *Politeia*, a moralizing Epicharmean forgery. If the Atticists disliked παράκαιρος we can easily imagine to what extent they must have hated horrifying innovations of the spoken language, like σωννύω or δεοῦμαι.

As a matter of fact, if we want to recover the level of colloquialism of the Epicharmean items quoted by the *Antiatticist* we must accurately 'sift' the relevant material. λίτρα or ἡμίνα may have disgusted the purists of the Hadrianic age, but those words were not only obvious, but also unavoidable, in ancient Syracuse, like 'pound' or 'ounce' in Britain. ἐκποιῆσαι was the obvious verb to employ if you were completing e.g. the building of a house in Syracuse: I do not see how it may have had special connotations. δεοῦμαι may well have been regarded as an indecent innovation in the second century AD, but in all likelihood it was just a nondescript Doric future in ancient Syracuse.

By contrast, ἐνεδρεῖα and σωννύω are a different story, one of striking colloquial innovations: in Sicily they must have been fairly common – a point rightly emphasized by Andreas Willi in *Sikelismos*. In this case, the innovations may have been perceived as substandard not only in the second century AD, but also in the fifth century BC.

Yet we are far from understanding things clearly. We are told that Epicharmus used ἐνεδρεῖα, but we are *not* told whether he used ἐνέδρα, too, and how many times. To my mind it is perfectly possible that ἐνέδρα was in fact the standard form in Syracuse, and that ἐνεδρεῖα was, so to speak, a gutter-word, used to characterize some disreputable or extremely comical characters. We will never know. When we deal with fragments, it is often difficult, if not impossible, to tell common everyday usage from what was meant to characterize an individual.

CHAPTER 10

‘WE SPEAK PELOPONNESIAN’

Tradition and linguistic identity in post-classical Sicilian literature

Andreas Willi

Alexandria, 272 BC

On a late summer morning, in the year 272 BC,¹ hundreds of people are crowded together in one of the great halls at the Palace of Alexandria, keen to admire the tapestries on display as Queen Arsinoe is hosting the Adonia festival. Everybody is pushing, pulling and shouting, but two women are particularly annoying with their loud comments on whatever they can catch sight of. One is just describing the figure of Adonis on one of the tapestries, as if her friend had no eyes to see for herself:

αὐτὸς δ' ὡς θαητὸς ἐπ' ἄργυρέας κατὰκειται
κλισμῷ, πρῶτον ἱουλον ἀπὸ κροτάφων καταβάλλων,
ὁ τριφίλητος Ἄδωνις, ὁ κῆν Ἀχέροντι φιληθείς.

Look, how marvellous he is, lying there on a silver couch, with just the first down on his cheeks, Adonis, the sweetheart – he finds love even on the Acheron!

It is uncomfortably hot in the Palace, and anyone could easily do without such silly babbling; but worst of all, the two women are not even locals, to judge by their accent. Many in the crowd mumble that Alexandria should be left to the Alexandrians, until one man finally loses his temper and shouts at the two:

παύσασθ', ὦ δύστανοι, ἀνάνυτα κωτίλλοισαι,
τρυγόνες· ἐκκναισεῦντι πλατειάσδοισαι ἅπαντα.

Stop it, you idiots, chattering all the time, like doves: they'll kill me with all their broad vowels everywhere.

¹ On this date, which is nothing but a possibility, see Gow (1950: II 265).

That should put them in their place, but no – one of them has the guts to shout back:

μᾶ, πόθεν ὠνθρωπος; τί δὲ τίν, εἰ κωτίλαι εἰμές;
 πασάμενος ἐπίτασσε· Συρακοσίαις ἐπιτάσσεις.
 ὡς εἰδῆς καὶ τοῦτο, Κορίνθιαι εἰμές ἄνωθεν,
 ὡς καὶ ὁ Βελλεροφῶν. Πελοποννασιστὶ λαλεῖς,
 Δωρίσδεν ὅξεστι, δοκῶ, τοῖς Δωριέεσσι.

Hell, where's that guy from? What's our chattering got to do with you? You better give orders only when you're the master. You're trying to order around Syracusans! And just to make that clear: we are Corinthians originally, just like Bellerophon. We speak Peloponnesian – surely it's alright to speak Dorian if you're a Dorian!?

Readers will have recognized the scene from Theocritus' *Idyll* 15 (vv. 84–93), the urban mime entitled *Syracusan Women* or *Women at the Adonis Festival* (Συρακόσiai ἢ Ἀδωνιάζουσai). The two main characters, Gorgo and Praxinoa, are Sicilians from Syracuse, like Theocritus himself; but the setting is Ptolemaic Alexandria and the poem is undoubtedly written for an Alexandrian audience. To look at it here, in the context of a discussion of language, linguistic contact and identity in Ancient Sicily, may therefore seem odd. However, the following paper will argue that the scene we have just witnessed in Arsinoe's Palace is a key not only to Sicilian Greek identity in Hellenistic times, but also to the entire work of Theocritus, the greatest Sicilian Greek poet whose writings survive in an unfragmented form. It will even be claimed that the scene opens up a new, and distinctly Sicilian, perspective on Hellenistic literature as a whole. As will shortly become clear, dialectological and other linguistic considerations are paramount in all this.

A language question

Praxinoa's self-conscious 'We speak Peloponnesian – surely it's alright to speak Dorian if you're a Dorian!?' is a rare metalinguistic statement in Theocritus, and as such it has been duly highlighted in Theocritean scholarship. For Magnien (1920) it constituted a cornerstone of his extremist thesis that *Idyll* 15 was actually

written in early-third-century spoken Syracusan.² At first sight such a thoroughly mimetic theory might seem appealing since we are after all dealing with a mime; but its flaws are only too obvious, both on a thematic and on a linguistic level. One may for instance ask why the Syracusan women’s Alexandrian interlocutors use exactly the same dialect as they do; for *if* that dialect were Syracusan, linguistic realism could not be a determining factor in the composition. Moreover, it is true that there are some forms which *may* be Syracusan, such as the consonant-stem dative plurals in -εσσιν,³ but there are others which are clearly not. Feminine participial forms in -οισα, for example, are not only absent from the meagre epigraphic evidence from Syracuse, but also from the fragments of Epicharmus and Sophron, which must be fairly accurate representations of fifth-century spoken Syracusan (see Willi (2008: 125–61)); and it is impossible that fifth-century -οουσα should have become third-century -οισα in real life.

However, showing that Magnien was wrong is easier than doing better than him in answering the fundamental question: What is the language of *Idyll* 15? In his monumental edition and commentary, Gow (1950: I lxxii) has usefully distinguished five groups of poems in the Theocritean corpus, depending on the type of language used: (i) genuine poems in Doric, (ii) dubious or spurious poems in Doric, (iii) poems prevailing in Epic dialect with an admixture of Doric, (iv) poems in Epic and Ionic, (v) poems in Aeolic. *Idyll* 15 belongs to the first or core group, whose ‘genuine poems in Doric’ also comprise *Idylls* 1–7, 10, 11, 14, 18 and 26: that is, above all, the bucolic poems. But saying that the language of

² And not just *Idyll* 15: according to Magnien (1920: 136) Theocritus’ *Syracusan Women* belongs to the same group, and uses the same language, as Epicharmus, Sophron, the Pythagorean authors, the author of the *Dissoi Logoi*, Callimachus in *Hymns* V and VI and Archimedes.

³ Syracusan is one of the few non-Aeolic dialects in which -εσσιν has been generalized: cf. Thumb and Kieckers (1932: 131), Buck (1955: 89), Willi (2008: 129) (on Epicharmus and Sophron), and Chapter 8 by Mimbrera in this volume. Note also the (Syracusan) perfect forms with present inflection (e.g. Theocr. 15.58 δεδοίκα ‘I fear’; cf. Molinos Tejada (1990: 302–4), Willi (2008: 144)), the pronoun ψε ‘them’ in Theocr. 4.3 and 15.80 (according to *P. Hamburg* 201; cf. Hunter (1996a: 153–4) and (1996b: 120–2)) or the imperative ἀφίκευσο ‘arrive’ in Theocr. 11.42, with the scholiast’s remark οὕτω Συρακούσιοι τὴν σο πλεονάζουσι συλλαβὴν, ἥπερ κάθουσο στεφάνουσο ἀντὶ τοῦ κάθου στεφάνου (read στεφανοῦ?) ‘in this way the Syracusans use a redundant syllable -σο, as in κάθουσο, στεφάνουσο instead of κάθου “be seated”, στεφανοῦ “be crowned”’.

Idyll 15 is essentially the same as that of the bucolic poems⁴ still begs the question: What type of language or dialect is it?

Three theories, no solution

One possible and in fact widespread response to this question is to despair. The most distinctive features of the Ancient Greek dialects are phonological. In particular, divergences in the vowel development serve as diagnostic dialect features, as for instance with the opposition of Attic-Ionic η vs $\bar{\alpha}$ in all the other dialect groups. Unfortunately, these are also the features that are most easily distorted in the manuscript tradition. This is especially true when they are not as well known as the one just mentioned. Within the Doric dialects, for example, we distinguish ‘Mild Doric’ from ‘Strong Doric’ dialects by looking at the long *e*-vowels and *o*-vowels arising from various stages of compensatory lengthenings and vowel contractions.⁵ Thus, Laconian is a Strong Doric dialect because it has open [ɛ:] and [ɔ:] in words like ἦμεν ‘to be’ (< **es-men*) and accusative plural λόγως (< **-ons*), whereas Syracusan (and its mother dialect Corinthian) is Mild Doric because it has closed [e:] and [o:], i.e. εἶμεν (= [e:men]) and λόγους (= [logo:s]). Now, since the basically Doric character of Theocritus’ bucolic poems is unquestionable, we might want to further pin down their dialect by classifying them according to this ‘mild vs strong’ division. However, this is more easily said than done. The manuscripts present Mild Doric and Strong Doric forms next to each other, apparently without any overarching principle. There seems to be no way of deciding whether an originally Strong Doric text has become ‘milder’ during the transmission or vice versa – nor indeed to what extent Theocritus himself or a host of sloppy later scribes are responsible for the mess. We are facing a textual critic’s

⁴ Cf. Di Benedetto (1956: 53), despite the allowance made by Gow (1950: II 277) for Theocr. 15.33 πῇ ‘where?’; this does not of course mean that there are no minor differences (cf. n. 34 and see e.g. Fantuzzi (1995: 249) on the particularly high score of corruption in *Idyll* 15).

⁵ This classification of the Doric dialects, which goes back to Ahrens (1843: 5), has been refined more recently by Bartoněk (1972: esp. 96–123), who adds a ‘Middle Doric’ category (cf. Willi (2008: 46–7)); for our present purposes the latter is irrelevant.

nightmare (or paradise), as Gow (1950: I lxxv) admits: ‘to tinker with the text in such details is as likely to deprave as to improve it’.

Meanwhile, others have been more cheerful. Since the level of ‘inconsistency’ is so remarkable, it is hard to believe that it is due *exclusively* to a poor transmission. In other words, some ‘inconsistency’ may have characterized the Theocritean text from the beginning, and thus triggered the later scribal hovering. If so, we can still hope to discover a pattern and rationale behind the variation. For instance, it might be that some of the Doric poems were written in Strong Doric and others in Mild Doric, but the two groups were ‘assimilated’ to each other later on. Something like this is argued for *Idyll* 15 by Molinos Tejada (1990: 202–10): according to her, slightly more papyrus and manuscript evidence for forms with closed *o*-vowels in the productive genitive singular in $-\omega/-\omicron\upsilon$ and the accusative plural in $-\omega\varsigma/-\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ can be observed in this piece, and she therefore suggests that *Idyll* 15, unlike the bucolic poems, was originally written in the Mild Doric Syracusan dialect. For *Idyll* 15 we would thus return to Magnien’s position, though in a modified form and with more respect for what is actually attested for Syracusan elsewhere. However, Molinos Tejada’s evidence is extremely slim: even in *Idyll* 15 the Strong Doric forms prevail overall, and of course we would still be facing the problem of participles in $-\omicron\iota\sigma\alpha$ and the like being non-Syracusan forms.

These forms in turn are central to the theory advanced by Ruijgh (1984). Building on Risch (1954), who had famously – though certainly wrongly – argued that the dialect of our Alcman text is essentially a literary Doric brought in line with contemporary Cyrenaean Doric by Alexandrian editors, Ruijgh suggests that Theocritus too was inspired by early-third-century Cyrenaean, a dialect which does have participles in $-\omicron\iota\sigma\alpha$.⁶ This source could also explain the Strong Doric elements,⁷ but Ruijgh has to acknowledge that,

⁶ Theocritus’ $-\omicron\iota\sigma\alpha$ was compared with that of Cyrene already by Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (1906: 26–7), Vollgraff (1919: 337–40) and Braun (1932).

⁷ Note, however, that the *o*-stem acc. pl. would be $-\omicron\varsigma$ in Cyrenaean (cf. Thumb and Kieckers (1932: 175), also on $-\omicron\iota\sigma\alpha$): $-\omicron\varsigma$ does occur in Theocritus, but is much rarer than $-\omega\varsigma$ (cf. Molinos Tejada (1990: 163–8), Basta Donzelli (2003: 261–2 n. 31)), just as (according to Ruijgh, again Cyrenaean) 2sg. $-\epsilon\varsigma$ is much rarer than $-\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ (cf. Molinos Tejada (1990: 279–81), never metrically guaranteed). The absence of $-\omicron\varsigma$ from the text of Alcman is a crucial piece of evidence against Risch’s theory (cf. Cassio (1993a: 28–30)).

especially for the front vowels, the manuscript evidence of Theocritus does not so clearly support a Strong Doric system: next to genitive singular $-\omega$ and accusative plural $-\omega\varsigma$, the transmission has for instance contractions with $-\epsilon\iota-$ < $*-ee-$ very frequently (Molinos Tejada (1990: 71–4)).

Hence, Ruijgh modifies his Cyrenaean theory by suggesting that the mixture of ‘mild’ and ‘strong’ forms in Theocritus reflects a linguistic reality best described as a partially ‘koineized’ Ptolemaic Cyrenaean, the dialect of Dorians like Praxinoa and Gorgo who were living in the melting-pot Alexandria and whose language was therefore influenced by non-Doric Greek. There is little to commend such a view. Not only is there not a single piece of independent evidence for such a mixed Alexandrian Doric dialect, and in a normal koineization process highly marked forms like those in $-\omicron\iota\sigma\alpha$ should be among the first to disappear,⁸ but the whole point of the small scene in *Idyll* 15 would also be lost if, as Ruijgh claims, a substantial part of the Greek population of Ptolemy II’s Empire used even ‘broader’ vowels than Praxinoa the Syracusan.⁹ The scene clearly implies that *any* Doric accent, however ‘mild’ it may have been, was easily singled out as unusual and stigmatized as ‘broad’ in Ptolemaic Alexandria.

Even so, Ruijgh’s observations on the uneven balance between ‘mild’ front vowels and ‘strong’ back vowels remain suggestive. If the vowel distribution is not accidental and if it cannot reflect a

Ruijgh (1984: 60–1) further emphasizes the occurrence of ablative adverbs in $-\theta\epsilon$ (next to $-\theta\epsilon\nu$) in Theocritus as well as Cyrenaean, but Abbenes (1996: 3) rightly observes that ‘Theocritus['] decision to write $-\theta\epsilon$ or $-\theta\epsilon\nu$ depended primarily upon the metre’, since $-\theta\epsilon\nu$ is also found in the Doric poems and $-\theta\epsilon$ is also used by Pindar (cf. Molinos Tejada (1990: 341–4), Basta Donzelli (2003: 256)).

⁸ In order to maintain his ‘realistic Cyrenaean’ theory, Ruijgh (1984: 74–6) commits himself to a remarkable degree of special pleading, for instance with regard to the infinitive of contract verbs (Theocr. $\phi\lambda\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu/\phi\lambda\eta\tilde{\eta}\nu$ vs Cyren. $\phi\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\nu$) or the nom. sg. masc. of participles in $*-nt-$ (Theocr. $\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\alpha\varsigma$, $\lambda\upsilon\theta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ vs Cyren. $\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\alpha\varsigma$, $\lambda\upsilon\theta\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma$): Attic/koine influence is invoked whenever it suits the argument, but for the datives in $-\epsilon\sigma\iota$ even he admits some literary admixture (Ruijgh (1984: 82)).

⁹ Ruijgh (1984: 63) tries to save his argument by arguing that Praxinoa ‘y habite donc assez de temps pour avoir pu apprendre le dialecte dorien caractéristique d’Alexandrie’ (‘has lived there long enough to have been able to learn the Doric dialect typical of Alexandria’). Denying that Doric was widespread in Alexandria is of course not the same as subscribing to the questionable view that Theocritus’ audience had lost contact with the dialects (Bertolini (2001: 97), ‘aveva perso contatto e familiarità con i dialetti’; similarly Thumb and Kieckers (1932: 223)).

real spoken dialect, it must be explained as a literary creation. An important step in this direction has been made by Abbenes (1996), who again observes that Theocritus’ ‘inconsistent’ Doric is not dissimilar from the dialect we read in our text of Alcman. Alcman too has -οισα (no doubt echoing early Aeolic lyric) and, more importantly, Alcman’s text too shows Strong Doric forms such as genitive singular -ω and accusative plural -ως next to some, though not exclusive, Mild Doric -ει- in contractions and compensatory lengthenings on the front-vowel axis. This situation, Abbenes argues, came about when the Alcman text was transliterated from an archaic alphabet (with only one E and one O sign) into a modern one (where E, EI, H and O, OY, Ω were available to write different front and back vowels). Mostly the Strong Doric variants were chosen by the editors/translitterators because Alcman’s Laconian dialect was known to be Strong Doric, but especially in those grammatical categories where a Strong Doric form might have been confusing for a Hellenistic readership, the Mild Doric alternative was selected instead: for instance, had a contracted middle in -ειτῶι < -εετῶι been written as -ητῶι, it might have been mistaken for a subjunctive. As for Theocritus, this would mean that he consciously modelled his ‘bucolic’ Doric after Alcman, i.e. that he simply followed the modernized orthographic conventions which had been established for the latter.

But again, while the comparison of Theocritus’ bucolic Doric with the Doric of Alcman is pertinent, there are questions in the detail. To start with, and leaving aside the lengthened *e*-vowels and *o*-vowels for a moment, there are also noticeable differences in dialect. For instance, Theocritus never has Σ instead of Θ (which in Alcman frequently indicates a Laconian pronunciation [θ] instead of usual [tʰ]), he does not close ε to ι before *o*-vowels and *a*-vowels (as in Alcman’s fr. 1.98 σιαί < θεαί ‘goddesses’), he observes initial digamma much less regularly than Alcman, and he uses a good number of metrically guaranteed Doric futures (cf. Molinos Tejada (1990: 118–20, 293–7)).¹⁰ We must therefore be wary of putting too much weight on apparent similarities in vocalism.

¹⁰ On digamma and the absence of metrically guaranteed Doric futures in Alcman cf. Page (1951: 104–10, 123–5), Cassio (1999a: 200–1) and Hinge (2006: 104–12, 193–6).

Moreover, there are numerous examples of secondary EI (and two or three of the rarer OY¹¹) in both Alcman and Theocritus where the avoidance of confusion is a weak rationale. In Alcman's Louvre Partheneion (Alcm. fr. 1), for example, we find not only δραμέιται 'will run', but also ἀνειρομένοι 'rising up' and τείρει 'wears out', each with compensatory lengthening; and even the infinitive of the athematic verb 'to be' was εἶμεν, not ἦμεν, *ante correcturam*.¹²

As for the infinitive of thematic verbs, this frequently ends in -εν in Theocritus, as normally in Alcman, but there is considerable evidence for -ειν next to it (as in the book fragments of Alcman, the papyri mainly showing -ην).¹³ Can we really assume that the scribes slipped much more frequently when they were dealing with front vowels, while carefully preserving the Strong Doric variants on the back axis? And why should anyone have thought in the first place that some liberty could be taken with the vowel representation in certain categories? Is any Greek reader (or listener) likely to have been confused by a strict observance of a Strong Doric vocalism, especially when the same reader/listener was apparently able to 'decode' endings like a genitive singular in -ω, an accusative plural in -ως and an infinitive in -ην? Since, as Abbenes himself underlines, the Strong Doric forms cluster in such well-defined endings, as well as in the stem of specific lexemes like the Doric verb δήλομαι (= Attic βούλομαι 'to want') and the infinitive ἦμεν,

¹¹ For uncontroversially attested Theocr. 2.146 Μελιζοῦς and 7.97 Μυρτοῦς as well as 14.57 νοῦν there is no early papyrus evidence (cf. Molinos Tejada (1990: 70)), but despite Ἀγιδῶς in Alcman fr. 1.40 we cannot confidently assume (with Abbenes (1996: 5)) that Theocritus *must* have written ὦ here.

¹² For a complete overview of the Alcman material see Hinge (2006: 22–30), who suggests for cases like τείρει and ἀνειρομένοι (as opposed to e.g. gen. sg. χηρός 'hand') 'Epenthese und nicht Ersatzdehung' ('epenthesis, not compensatory lengthening'), and for a conspectus of the Theocritean evidence Abbenes (1996: 6–7). The evidence of εἶμεν *ante correcturam* in Alcman fr. 1.45 is important because the scribe cannot have slipped here simply out of habit: the corresponding form in Attic/koine Greek was quite different (εἶναι).

¹³ Cf. on Alcman Hinge (2006: 204–7) and on Theocritus Molinos Tejada (1990: 71 and 311–17); -εν is originally a preconsonantal sandhi variant of -ειν/-ην (cf. García Ramón (1977: 191–5)). According to the (limited) data in Molinos Tejada (1990: 70–3), the infinitive ending resulting from *-εεν might have been spelled quite regularly as -ην at first, -ειν becoming more frequent in later papyri and in the medieval manuscripts of Theocritus, but the same contraction product in the nom. pl. of the *u*-stems (-εις < *-ε(F)ες: cf. Theocr. 2.128 πελέκεις 'axes') and in the paradigm of the *verba vocalia* (e.g. -εῖται < *-εεταῖ) is most commonly spelled with EI.

we may rather postulate exactly the inverse: not that the Strong Doric forms are the default variants, which were actively *avoided* in some categories to ensure easy readability, but that the Mild Doric forms were the basis, and a Strong Doric patina was *added* to the text, affecting – as it were symbolically – only the most conspicuous lexemes and categories.

Alcman, Theocritus and Hellenistic Greek

Of course, we then still have to ask why this happened, both in the case of Alcman (where an Alexandrian editor may be responsible) and in the case of Theocritus (where there is no reason to assume an edition fundamentally diverging from the author’s own text). For Alcman we might argue that his Laconian background justified any orthographic move in the direction of a Strong Doric text, just as it justified the orthographic replacement of Θ by Σ in most environments.¹⁴ For Theocritus, however, no such easy explanation is available since he, unlike Alcman, hailed from a Mild Doric area. As we have just seen, he also cannot simply have imitated what he found in Alcman, for in that case he would no doubt have adopted further Alcmanic features as well (e.g. the Σ/Θ convention). Looking for other literary models does not lead very far either, because Mild Doric vocalism prevails in the rest of archaic and classical Doric literature. So at best we could assume that Theocritus added the Strong Doric patina because he regarded Strong Doric as *the* Doric κατ’ ἐξοχήν and wanted to differentiate his (or his shepherds’) dialect as much as possible from standard Attic/koine Greek,¹⁵ disregarding literary precedent – but

¹⁴ The secondary (editorial) insertion of specific dialect features into the text of Alcman is also seen in the case of the Doric futures: cf. above and Cassio (1999a: 202–3).

¹⁵ Note that the Strong Doric vocalism cannot be explained as mimetically appropriate because of the geographical localization of some of the bucolic poems in Strong Doric Magna Graecia (4.17 Αἰσάραιοι, 4.24 Νήαιθον, 5.1 Συβαρίταν, 5.16 Κρᾶθιν, 5.72–3 Θουρίω, Συβαρίτα, 5.124 Ἰμέρα?, Κρᾶθι, 5.126 Συβαρίτης) (or, in Theocr. 7, on Middle Doric Cos, where e.g. gen. sg. -ου would be appropriate): other references are to Mild Doric Sicily (Theocr. 1.65 Αἶτνας, 1.117–18 Ἀρέθοισα, Θύβριδος, [Theocr.] 8.56, 9.15, Theocr. 11.7 with the Cyclops as a compatriot of the narrator, 11.47 Αἶτνας) and we must also keep in mind the ‘Syracusan’ *Idyll* 15 as well as the Sicilian connections of Daphnis (cf. Theocr. 7.75 Ἰμέρα); see further Gow (1950: I xix–xxi). On the question of (partial) linguistic mimesis see further below.

why, then, did he celebrate in one of his epigrams as quintessentially Doric the comic poet Epicharmus, who used Mild Doric Syracusan (Theocr. *Epigr.* 18.1 ἄ τε φωνὰ Δώριος χῶνῆρ ὁ τὰν κωμῳδίαν εὐρών Ἐπίχαρμος ‘both the language is Doric and the man who invented comedy, Epicharmus’)? And why did he spoil the intended effect by using in his own poems the common participles in -οισα which do echo the traditional language of lyric poetry in Doric, while *not* being characteristic of maximally differentiated Strong Doric (outside Cyrene)? In reality, the solution is much simpler and, as we shall discover, the key is given by Theocritus himself in the scene from *Idyll* 15 which was our starting point. However, in order to understand better what is going on, we first have to undertake a brief detour into the realm of the consonants.

The most remarkable feature of the consonantism of the text of Alcman (as well as Theocritus¹⁶) is the frequent, but again not entirely consistent, writing of word-internal -ζ- with ΣΔ, just as in the Aeolic poets. At first sight this is puzzling both because classical Laconian has ΔΔ = [dd] (*vel sim.*) instead and because nothing of the sort is found in the Lesbian inscriptions. Laconian [dd] must be assimilated from earlier [zd] (Thumb and Kieckers (1932: 85–6)), a change which may have happened already before Alcman’s time, in which case Alcman simply avoided too parochial a form.¹⁷ The question is just why Alcman’s, and the Aeolic poets’, preferred [zd] was not written with Ζ, which *was* good enough for the Lesbian inscriptions and whose classical pronunciation as [zd] can hardly be doubted (see Allen (1987: 56–9)¹⁸). The

¹⁶ For the Theocritean evidence see Molinos Tejada (1990: 120–30), who dismisses as a waste of time any attempt to justify ΣΔ or Ζ in specific lines with thematic criteria (cf. e.g. Arena (1956–7), Ruijgh (1984: 78–80) on *Idyll* 15); but she does recognize a significant concentration of ΣΔ variants in *Idyll* 1 with its strongly bucolic character (similarly Arena (1956–7: 24) on ΣΔ in bucolic words, Stanford (1968), Dimitrov (1981: 31–3)).

¹⁷ Note that this was respected throughout the centuries, just as later editors refrained from introducing the (probably later) Laconian change of intervocalic [s] > [h] (whereas the fricative pronunciation [θ] of Θ, which is reflected in the spelling with Σ, may well have existed already in Alcman’s days; cf. Morani (1976: 76–9) and Hinge (2006: 73)). For the inscriptional evidence with ΔΔ see Bourguet (1927: 59–60, 135) and Hinge (2006: 93).

¹⁸ The counterarguments advanced by Teodorsson (1993) are weak; in particular, he notes that ‘if Ionic-Attic actually had [zd], the grammarians ought at least to have mentioned these dialects together with Lesbian’ (p. 311), but this is not so: for the Hellenistic

only satisfactory answer is this:¹⁹ ΣΔ was introduced into the text of Alcman and the Lesbian poets when, at some point during the fourth century BC, Z was *no longer* pronounced as [zd], but had become [z] in Attic/koine Greek (cf. Teodorsson (1977: 243–4), Allen (1987: 58)); from now on, only a spelling ΣΔ could ensure that these dialect texts continued to be recited in the correct traditional way. This lends support to the recent thesis of Hinge (2006), according to whom ‘our’ Alcman is based on a Hellenistic text written down from a living oral tradition.²⁰ That not *every* [zd] was ‘transcribed’ in this rather unfamiliar way is neither surprising nor was it necessary: in theory, a single note at the beginning of the text, stating ‘τὸ ζ διὰ τοῦ σδ ἐκφέρεται’ (‘Z is pronounced as ΣΔ’), would have been sufficient.²¹

If this is true for the consonants, why should it not also be true for the vowels? Let us take again the long vowels resulting from contractions and compensatory lengthenings, which are spelled as EI and OY in classical Attic-Ionic as well as Hellenistic orthography. Orthographic OY, originally [o:] in pronunciation, had become [u:] in Attic no later than the mid-fourth century, as proved by the Boeotian spelling of original *u as OY (cf. Threatte (1980: 239),

grammarians Attic-Ionic was not in the same way distinct from their own language as was Lesbian. Synchronically, therefore, their own (i.e. ‘Attic-Ionic’) [z] contrasted with Lesbian (and Doric) [zd]. It is true that there is relatively little independent evidence for the pronunciation of Z in Doric, but see Lejeune (1972: 113–14) and Allen (1987: 58 n. 115) on Argive δικάζοιτο and note that a progressive assimilation [dz] > [dd] in Laconian, though also possible (cf. Brixhe (1996c: 101), who prefers a direct change of palatal [d’d’] > [dd]), is certainly not more likely than [zd] > [dd].

¹⁹ Cf. e.g. Thumb and Scherer (1959: 96–7), Lejeune (1972: 115), Ruijgh (1984: 76–7), Allen (1987: 59) (on the Lesbian evidence) and West (1974: 188–9) (on Alcman and Theocritus). To assume, with Hooker (1977: 18), that Lesbian ΣΔ stands for [z] is absurd.

²⁰ Rather surprisingly, Hinge (2006: 91–9) does not, however, use the Z ~ ΣΔ convention as evidence, but implausibly interprets ΣΔ as an attempt at writing a sequence [z.dz] (*sic*); even if, contrary to what is noted above in n. 18, Z represented [dz] in early Laconian, surely something like *ΣΖ or perhaps *ΖΖ would be expected for [z.dz]. Hinge’s thesis is foreshadowed by Morani (1976), but whereas Morani’s earlier (fifth-century) date for the production of a written text from an oral performance is able to account for Σ ~ Θ = [θ], it fails to explain the case of Z ~ ΣΔ, where the ‘problem’ of a diverging pronunciation of the traditional spelling only arose in post-classical times.

²¹ There is thus no need to assume, with Page (1951: 144–5), that ΣΔ was imported into the text of Alcman under the influence of that of Theocritus; nor need the grammatical tradition according to which ΣΔ for Z is Doric (Schol. Dion. Thr. 35.2 Hilgard, *Et. Magn.* 411.57–412.3, Gow (1950: II 3)) be based (exclusively) on Theocritus.

Allen (1987: 76–8)). Similarly, orthographic EI was becoming increasingly closed during the fourth century, but the change from classical Attic [e:] to late Hellenistic [i:], which *may* have started among some speakers already during the fifth century BC,²² did not become universal before the third century (cf. Threatte (1980: 195), Allen (1987: 69–70)). So, at the time when Theocritus was writing, an educated speaker of Attic or koine Greek might still have pronounced EI as [e:], while already pronouncing OY as [u:].

However, the same is not necessarily true for a speaker of Doric. In Greek terminology, the closing involved in the changes [e:] > [i:] and [o:] > [u:] makes the respective vowels less ‘broad’ (πλατύς). This in turn recalls the anonymous Alexandrian’s complaint in *Idyll* 15 about the Syracusan women’s vowels: they are πλατειάσ-δοισαι ἅπαντα.²³ This is usually taken to refer to Doric $\bar{\alpha}$ where koine Greek had η , and indeed it cannot refer more generally to a Strong Doric, as opposed to Mild Doric, treatment of the vowels on the front and back axis: we have seen that the Syracusan women’s native dialect is *not* Strong Doric. But what it can, and indeed should, refer to is a more general observation on vowel pronunciation in Doric as a whole, as opposed to koine Greek: Doric, even Mild Doric Syracusan, is less advanced in closing *all* of its vowels.²⁴ In other words, at the start of the third century, [o:] (= OY) has not yet been closed completely to yield [u:], and [e:] (= EI) is also still further away from [i:] than in koine Greek. In normal orthography, of course, this did not matter; but a writer who wanted to indicate unequivocally such a greater degree of vocalic openness could do so only by using the graphemes ω and η instead of OY and EI. As in the case of $\Sigma\Delta \sim Z$, however, there was no need to do this with absolute consistency, because the alternative orthography served merely as a signal. Moreover,

²² Cf. especially Teodorsson (1974: 176–8) and (1987) as well as Duhoux (1987); Teodorsson (1977: 214) gives 250 BC as a *terminus ante quem* for the completion of EI = [i:], but this may be too early.

²³ Cf. also [Demetr.] *Eloc.* 177 πλατεία λαλοῦσι πάντα οἱ Δωριεῖς ‘the Dorians pronounce everything in a broad manner’ (exemplified with Doric βροντά ‘thunder’ for βροντή).

²⁴ See further Hermogen. *Id.* 1.6 (p. 247 Rabe), where ἐξαιρέτως αἱ τε τῷ α καὶ τῷ ω πλείστω χρώμεναι [λέξεις] ‘especially the words with many α’s and ω’s’ are singled out as effecting a πλατεῖα λέξις or ‘broad accent’ (cf. Schol. Theocr. 12.6–8 Wendel); however, already Hermogenes (followed by Schol. Theocr. 15.87–8) refers the Alexandrian man’s remark primarily to ‘Doric’ $\bar{\alpha}$.

this scenario may even explain why there is overall more consistency in the use of ω as compared to that of H.²⁵ As pointed out above, even in early koine Greek the change [o:] > [u:] was far more advanced than the corresponding change [e:] > [i:]. Hence, in highlighting the ‘correct’ pronunciation it was more vital to prevent an erroneous [u:] interpretation of OY by using ω ; whereas on the front axis the difference between the standard (koine) and the intended (Doric) pronunciation was merely one between two different timbres of a long *e*-vowel.²⁶

If this is correct, it has some interesting implications. The alleged Strong Doric character of the Alcman text has been used in the past as a basis for the claim that Alcman’s dialect is close to Old Laconian.²⁷ We now see that Alcman’s Doric *need* not have been any ‘stronger’ than that of the other choral lyric poets. As far as the diagnostic feature of the lengthened vowels is concerned,²⁸ it is just Doric *tout court*; and in a recent article Cassio (2007) has shown that this is indeed how it was classified by ancient scholars like Apollonius. The main difference between Alcman and the other choral lyric poets would only lie in the way in which Alcman’s text was recorded, particular attention being paid to the correlation of written text and oral delivery.²⁹ More importantly in our context, whether or not there was a living oral tradition in the case of Alcman, the fact that *any* Doric dialect could best be *written*

²⁵ Note especially the divergence between ω and EI as results of the third compensatory lengthening (e.g. Theocr. 1.82 κῶρα and 15.120 κῶροι without *varia lectio* κούρα/κούροι vs Theocr. 2.154, 2.162, 7.119 with ξειν- without *varia lectio* ξην-); H is never found in these cases (cf. Molinos Tejada (1990: 174–7), Abbenes (1996: 6–7)).

²⁶ Perhaps one may even explain the occasional occurrence of hyper-Dorisms in a similar way (e.g. Theocr. 3.19 φιλάσω ‘I shall kiss’, 1.109 etc. μᾶλα ‘sheep’; cf. Strunk (1964), Darms (1981: 187–8), Cassio (1993b) and Molinos Tejada (1990: 38–46), who stresses that the hyper-Doric $\bar{\alpha}$ is old in the Theocritus text); in these, A would stand not for plain [a:], as in the case of old * $\bar{a}$, but for a very open [æ:] normally written with H. In any case, it is unwise to edit out these forms with Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (1906: 20–1) and Latte (1949: 226).

²⁷ See particularly Page (1951: 102–63, esp. 153–5) who even asserts that the participles in -οισα must have been used in early Laconia (pp. 133–4; cf. already Braun (1932: 188–93) and for a rejection most recently Schade (1997–8)).

²⁸ But of course spellings like σιδ for θεα (cf. above) do suggest that a distinctly Laconian sound pattern was intended here, and this would include a Strong Doric pronunciation of the secondary long vowels.

²⁹ Note that the above explanation of only apparently Strong Doric ω also accounts for the unexpected (though rare) attestation of some such ω spellings in Epicharmus and Sophron (cf. Willi (2008: 127 n. 29)): here too the oral performance was crucial.

down for recitation in a non-Doric environment with graphically ‘Strong Doric’ vocalism at least in some signal categories was certainly a good reason for Theocritus to do so in fashioning his ‘bucolic’ language: for his poems too were meant to be recited aloud. Thus, what is at stake in Theocritus is not Laconian, Syracusan or Cyrenaean, and not Mild Doric or Strong Doric either, but simply Doric or not Doric. And that finally brings us back to our main topic, Sicilian language and identity.

The literary dimension

If we dismiss Magnien’s and Molino Tejada’s Syracusan theories as unfounded, and if we instead regard the dialect of both *Idyll* 15 and the bucolic poems as a ‘generic’ form of literary³⁰ Doric, we may still agree with Hunter (1996a: 154–5), who claims that ‘when Praxinoa and Gorgo use Doric forms, the effect remains mimetically analogous to Syracusan speech’. However, things become more problematic with the addition that ‘if no other Theocritean poem had survived, there would be little critical disagreement about the linguistic mimesis of the poem’. Praxinoa, Gorgo and the impolite Alexandrian man are not the only speakers in the mime. There is also an old woman before the palace, another more polite Alexandrian man and finally the singer who sings the long Adonis hymn. All of these speak or sing in the same dialect. So why should *their* native dialect not be treated in a similar ‘mimetically analogous’ way, by using a ‘generic’ version of it? And of course other Theocritean poems did survive, so that we cannot look at *Idyll* 15 only. If we want to read the language of *Idyll* 15 as ‘gestur[ing] towards “the realistic”’ (Hunter (1996a: 157)), we should do the same for the bucolic poems. That would not

³⁰ This qualification is important not only because of the existence of metrically guaranteed variant forms which can belong to different epichoric Doric dialects (cf. e.g. above on the inf. in -εῖν/-ῆν/-εῖν and the acc. pl. in -οῖ/-ωῖς, Legrand (1898: 238–40), or also Molinos Tejada (1990: 173–8) on cases like κᾶλός vs κᾷλός, ξένος vs ξεῖνος etc.), but also because of a number of distinctly non-Doric additions like the participles in -οῖσα (unless these are inspired by Cyrenaean), pronominal forms such as ἄμμι (Theocr. 1.102; cf. Arena (1956–7: 42–65) and Molinos Tejada (1990: 141–9) on similar, but not metrically guaranteed, forms elsewhere) or the particles κ(ε)ῖν and ἄν (Molinos Tejada (1990: 360–1), Thumb and Kieckers (1932: 224)).

be impossible – Theocritus’ bucolic scenes *are* located in Doric areas –, but it would seem reductionist.³¹ Is a hint at mimesis really all there is to Theocritus’ choice of language? Or if not, is it sufficient to invoke ‘the literary tastes of the Alexandrians, who loved to write in obscure, or at any rate antiquated dialects’ (Abbenes (1996: 17)) – as if they had acted at random?

The answer is clearly no, as Hunter himself demonstrates. Commenting on the opening verses of *Idyll* 1 he observes that ‘the cumulative effect of distinctive Doric forms seems to be to convey the “new” sound of “new poetry”’ (Hunter (1996b: 33)). Of course this is not true if we look at the forms in isolation, for Doric had been used in literature since the days of Alcman. What is new is rather the amalgamation of these literary Doric forms with the traditional metre of epic poetry in the framework of a mime.³² No doubt the bucolic hexameter is in some respects different from the more strictly regulated Callimachean one³³ – and Di Benedetto (1956) has shown that the stronger the Dorism is in one of Theocritus’ poems the less Callimachean are its hexameters³⁴ –, but even the least Callimachean hexameter is still a hexameter and therefore unlike any traditional metre of Doric poetry. In this metrical

³¹ Cf. Di Benedetto (1956: 49–50), Fabiano (1971: 521) and Halperin (1983: 149–53), after Legrand (1898: 234–5), against the view expressed in Schol. Theocr. 7.8–10 Wendel (*Anecdota Estense III*: ὅτι τῶν τὰ βουκολικὰ συγγραψάντων ἴδιον τὸ Δωριδί χρησθαι διαλέκτῳ, τὸ μιμεῖσθαι εἰς ἄκρον ἀγροίκων ὁμιλίας καὶ νομέων χαριέντως αὐτὰς ἐκφράζων [Note] that authors of bucolic poems typically use the Doric dialect, [and] imitate as far as possible the conversations of countrymen and shepherds, [the poet] representing them in a charming manner’). Hunter (1996b: 8–10) and Basta Donzelli (2003: 265–8) contrast Theocritus’ language with the more truly realistic language of the popular mime (e.g. *P.Oxy.* 413 and the *Fragmentum Grenfellianum*).

³² Cf. Di Benedetto (1956: 48), Ruijgh (1984: 87–8), Basta Donzelli (2003: 262–3, ‘il Dorico . . . nei versi dell’*epos* era uno degli aspetti formali più caratteristici della novità letteraria teocritea’ (‘Doric in the verses of epic was one of the most characteristic formal aspects of Theocritus’ literary novelty’)), Hinge (2009: 73, ‘The linguistic and metric form marks the text as a hybrid of mime, lyric and *epos*’).

³³ For a description of Theocritus’ hexameter and its internal variation see Kunst (1887), Legrand (1898: 314–42) and Fantuzzi (1995) as well as the useful short summary in Hunter (1999: 17–21).

³⁴ On the different ‘degrees’ of Dorism (especially as opposed to ‘Homerism’) in the various *Idylls* see already Legrand (1898: 234–50) and Gallavotti (1952, *non vidi*) and subsequently also Darms (1981), Dimitrov (1981), Hunter (1996b: 38–45) and Bertolini (2001: 96). More controversially, Di Benedetto (1956: 59) wants to see here a criterion for dating the poems (the most Doric *Idylls*, including *Idyll* 15, being the earliest; but see the objections in Fabiano (1971: esp. 519–24), who stresses the ‘constant fluctuation’ of Theocritus’ language and style).

environment, then, Doric is a literary counter-language, apparently inferior to, and certainly dissimilar from, the expected 'standard'. The end product thus becomes an adventurous hybrid and the status of a Theocritean mime or bucolic poem turns out to be identical to that of his Syracusan women in Alexandria, the city of learning and culture, but an Alexandria before the Callimachean revolution, where epic poetry is still the literary ideal.³⁵ Like his women,³⁶ Theocritus' poems are 'intruders' into a closed society, trying to blend in, but scorned and frowned upon because of their rough ways and their linguistic foreignness. But again like the Syracusan women, Theocritus' poems 'protest': look more closely and you will discover the noble ancestry of what you are dismissing. The Syracusans are Κορίνθιαὶ ἄνωθεν and they therefore speak Πελοποννασιστί; but so do Theocritus' poems, written in a dialect akin to that of the Peloponnesian Alcman and later choral lyric tradition.

Missing Sicily?

Everything, then, seems to fall neatly into place. And yet there is something unsettling about it, a categorization which we hardly notice because we are far too used to it. Praxinoa and Gorgo define their identity through (a) their city of origin, Syracuse, hence (b) the metropolis of Syracuse, Corinth, hence (c) the Peloponnese, hence (d) the Doric world. What is missing is Sicily. Why are they not (a) Syracusans, hence (b) Sicilians? One might be tempted to think that it is because there was no such thing as a *Sicilian* identity, but that is not true. Writers like Antiochus of Syracuse in the fifth century or Philistus of Syracuse and Alcimius in the fourth would not have written Σικελικά if they had not thought of themselves as *Sicilians*, and Timaeus of Tauromenion, whose life overlapped with that of Theocritus, obviously does the same when he 'tries so hard to make Sicily greater than Greece as a

³⁵ Cf. the Theocritean 'manifesto' in Theocr. 7.45–8: the narrator hates 'the birds of the Muses who toil in vain crowing against the singer from Chios' (Μοῖσ᾽ αὖν ὄρνιχες ὅσοι ποτὶ Χίον αἰοῖδ' ἄντ' ἰα κοκκύζοντες ἐτώσια μοχθίζοντι).

³⁶ For the Syracusan women as 'embodiments of the poetic voice' cf. Hunter (1996a: 150–1).

whole, its history more illustrious and impressive than that of the rest of the world, its inhabitants wiser than all the other outstanding thinkers, and those originating from Syracuse better and more divine political leaders’ (Plb. 12.26b.4 = Tim. *FGH* 566 F 94.4: Τίμαιος . . . τοσαύτην ποιεῖται σπουδὴν περὶ τοῦ τὴν μὲν Σικελίαν μεγαλομερεστέραν ποιῆσαι τῆς συμπίσσης Ἑλλάδος, τὰς δὲ ἐν αὐτῇ πράξεις ἐπιφανεστέρας καὶ καλλίους τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἄλλην οἰκουμένην, τῶν δ’ ἀνδρῶν τῶν μὲν σοφίᾳ διενηνοχότων σοφωτάτους τοὺς ἐν Σικελίᾳ, τῶν δὲ πραγματικῶν ἡγεμονικωτάτους καὶ θειοτάτους τοὺς ἐκ Συρακουσσῶν). Significantly, too, at the Congress of Gela in 424 BC the Syracusan general Hermocrates is said by Thucydides to have rallied all the Sicilian Greeks by reminding them that ‘it is not shameful at all when friends yield to each other, a Dorian to a Dorian and a Chalcidian to his relatives, given that we are all neighbours, inhabit one and the same land in the midst of the sea and share one common name: Siceliots’ (Thuc. 4.64.3: οὐδὲν γὰρ αἰσχρὸν οἰκείους οἰκείων ἡσσᾶσθαι, ἢ Δωριᾷ τινὰ Δωριῶς ἢ Χαλκιδέα τῶν ξυγγενῶν, τὸ δὲ ξύμπαν γείτονας ὄντας καὶ ξυνοίκους μιᾷς χώρας καὶ περιρρύτου καὶ ὄνομα ἐν κεκλημένους Σικελιώτας).

So the reasons for the Syracusan women’s silence on their Sicilianess must lie elsewhere. They are, I suggest, twofold. Firstly we must take into account the Alexandrian setting. The anonymous man’s arrogance is based on an insider’s feeling of superiority: in a sense Arsinoe’s palace and her great show are also his. As long as Alexandria is the centre, any other place, including Syracuse, is the periphery, and no additional reference to Sicily will change that. But in reality Alexandria’s own status is at least as precarious as that of Syracuse. It may be reinventing itself, under Ptolemy II, as a new focus of Greek culture (cf. Theocr. 14.57–68, 17.105–16), but it can do so only by gathering this culture from elsewhere. On the mental map, therefore, Alexandria itself is part of the periphery, whereas mainland Greece is still the centre: located in the Egyptian diaspora, Alexandria will never really be a new Athens. By establishing their ‘Peloponnesian’ credentials, Theocritus’ Syracusan women thus turn the tables – *they* are part of the centre, the Alexandrian is not, or at any rate not more than they. *Him* we must imagine as speaking koine Greek – Hellenistically

internationalized Attic-Ionic –, whereas *them* we must imagine, not as speaking *Syracusan*, as Magnien, Molinos Tejada or even Hunter would have it, but as speaking the equally international Doric koina of post-classical Sicily.³⁷ The opposites are perfectly balanced:

Alexandria	Syracuse
Egyptian ‘diaspora’	Western Greek ‘diaspora’
koiné Greek (~ Hellenistic Attic-Ionic)	Doric koina (~ Hellenistic Doric)
Athens as mental centre	Peloponnese as mental centre

In other words, the women’s silence on their Sicilianness is not in contrast with Timaeus as it does not imply that there is no longer a Sicilian identity. Referring to Sicily would simply not add any value to the women’s argument *under the present circumstances*.

But why, one might object, should they then make reference at least to Syracuse? Why should they not content themselves with a proud reference to their Doric language and culture, without bringing in *any* hint of periphery? Here we must free ourselves of a dangerous prejudice. From our omniscient modern vantage point we accept Alexandrian claims to centre status all too easily, and we do tend to think of Syracuse as peripheral.³⁸ Politically, however, it must have been far from clear to Theocritus and his contemporaries whether Ptolemy II’s Alexandria or Hiero II’s Syracuse was going to have a greater impact on world history (cf. Theocr. 16.76–81 next to 17.86–94). Moreover, in the first decades of the third century the myth of cultured metropolitan Alexandria was still very much a construction site, and one on a *tabula rasa* as far as Greek culture was concerned. Syracuse, on the other hand, looked back on more than three centuries of Hellenic culture. Seen in this light the women’s pride is not parochial at all, but justified and highly effective; and behind it, we again hear the Syracusan Theocritus

³⁷ On the Doric koina of Sicily, which seems to have been established already around 400 BC, see Bartoněk (1973), Willi (2008: 30–4) and Chapter 8.

³⁸ For instance, Hinge (2009: 74) speaks of ‘the anachronism of Praxinoa’s Doric identity’, but although in early Alexandria being Doric may have been out of place, it was certainly not a thing of the past.

himself, who, through the very act of writing this *μῦθος γυναικεῖος*, follows in the footsteps of Sophron, his Syracusan compatriot who had lived a century before.³⁹

Also, the second reason why Theocritus’ women do not mention Sicily now becomes clear. Syracuse had been the focus of all cultural activity in Sicily and the West since the days of Hiero I, the ‘marrow of Sicily’ as Theocritus himself writes in *Idyll* 28.18 (Τρινακρίας μύελον). Hence, pride in being Syracusan as it were automatically implied pride also in being Sicilian;⁴⁰ there was no need to mention Sicily separately. Unless we are told otherwise, we take it for granted that a French person who is proud of the splendours of Paris will also be proud of French culture more generally. So when we see something of Theocritus himself in his Syracusan women in Alexandria, we must not think of him exclusively as a representative of Syracuse, but also of Sicily, or rather: of western Greek culture as a whole. It is no coincidence that his shepherds are from Aitna and Sybaris (Theocr. 1.65, 5.1) or tend their flocks near Croton (Theocr. 4.17, 4.24). Diachronically being Doric may mean being from the Peloponnese,⁴¹ but synchronically being (and, above all, writing in) Doric has come to mean, more often than not, being from Sicily or Magna Graecia.

Of course Doric was still far from dying out elsewhere too – in Crete or the Peloponnese, for example (cf. Bubeník (1989)) – but its ‘ethnocultural vitality’ nowhere remained as strong as in the west, as witnessed for instance by the linguistic choices of Theocritus’ contemporary Archimedes, the Pythagorean prose writers or the authors of various kinds of pseudo-Epicharmean texts.⁴²

³⁹ Schol. Theocr. 15 *arg.* even points to a specific source: παρέπλασε δὲ τὸ ποιημάτιον ἐκ τῶν παρὰ Σώφρονι Ἰσθμια Θεωμένων ‘he fashioned the poem on the basis of Sophron’s *Visitors to the Isthmian Games*’ (cf. Magnien (1920: 59–60)).

⁴⁰ Note also the implicit equation Syracusan leaders ~ Sicilian leaders in Plb. 12.26b.4 cited above.

⁴¹ Cf. the Doric dialect of Helen’s bridesmaids in Theocr. 18.48 (Δωριστί, but not Λακωνιστί, as stressed by Hunter (1996a: 154)).

⁴² Abbenes (1996: 11–15) shows that in (at least some of) the fragments of Archytas and Philolaus as well as the pseudo-Pythagorean texts and in the *Dissoi Logoi* essentially the same ‘mixed Doric’ vocalic system as in Theocritus is found (for the comparison cf. already Magnien (1920: 53), who refers to Greg. Corinth. p. 6–7 Schaefer: Ἀττικῆς μὲν φράσεως κανόνα τὸν κωμικὸν Ἀριστοφάνην προθέμενοι, καὶ Θουκυδίδην τὸν συγγραφέα, καὶ [Δημοσθένην τὸν] ῥήτορα, . . . Δωρίδος δὲ τὸν Ταραντῖνον Ἀρχύταν, καὶ

Not by coincidence it is also fourth-century Syracuse, the ‘capital’ of this Doric οἰκευμένα, where a Lucanian ambassador was greatly honoured, according to Favorinus (fr. 95.24 Barigazzi), for addressing a flattered assembly Δωριστί ‘in Doric’.⁴³ Writing in a ‘generic Doric’, Theocritus is therefore indeed using a literary counter-language, but first and foremost he is using language as a symbol of his Sicilianness.⁴⁴ And that in turn encourages us not to forget the Sicilian Theocritus because of the Hellenistic Theocritus. By way of conclusion, two points may illustrate why this is important.

Theocritus the Sicilian

The first point is about Theocritus’ novelty. Let us again consider Hunter’s statement that Theocritus’ use of Doric ‘convey[s] the “new” sound of “new poetry”’, a statement which clearly plays out the Hellenistic Theocritus. But how new is all of this new poetry? In *Idyll* 1 the shepherd Thyrsis sings a farewell song of lovesick Daphnis, the ‘hero’ of bucolic poetry, who also features in *Idylls* 5, 6, 7, 8 and 9. The myth implied by *Idyll* 1 is unlike the classical myth of Daphnis, as told for instance by Timaeus (*FGH* 566 F 83 = Parthen. *Narr. am.* 29), but the figure of Daphnis himself is certainly not Theocritus’ invention, nor is the writing

Θεόκριτον τὸν τὰ βουκολικά συγγραψάμενον, . . . ἴσως ἂν περὶ τῶν διαλέκτων ἱκανῶς διαλάβοιμεν ‘if we posit as the canon of the Attic form of expression the comic poet Aristophanes, Thucydides the historian and Demosthenes the orator . . . and of the Doric one Archytas of Tarentum as well as Theocritus the author of the bucolic poems, . . . we might get a good grip on the dialects’). For these texts too the explanation given above makes better sense than the assumption of a Strong Doric version partially koineized in certain grammatical categories, for here too the Doric dialect served as a differentiating marker of identity (cf. Iambl. *VP* 241–3, Porph. *VP* 53 and Cassio (1989: 145–50) on the Pythagorean preference for Doric over other dialects). Archimedes, on the other hand, has EI and OY throughout, not because he was a Syracusan, but because for him the use of Doric was a matter of convenience rather than ideology (cf. Thumb and Kieckers (1932: 209), who see in him a ‘representative of the later Sicilian Dorism that formed the transition to the koine’ (‘Vertreter jenes jüngeren sizilischen Dorismus . . . , der den Übergang zur Κοινή bildete’)). Prose texts in Doric from other parts of the Greek world were exceptional; cf. Cassio (1989: 137–41).

⁴³ On this episode, its dating and wider context see especially Poccetti (1989).

⁴⁴ To some extent one may thus agree with Schol. Theocr. 12.5–6 Wendel, according to which one of the reasons Theocritus had for writing in Doric was διότι Συρακούσιος ἦν ‘because he was from Syracuse’.

of bucolic song. Theocr. 1.19–20 unequivocally points back to a tradition (ἀλλὰ τὸ γὰρ δὴ, Θύρσι, τὰ Δάφνιδος ἄλγε’ αἰίδες καὶ τᾶς βουκολικᾶς ἐπὶ τὸ πλεόν ἴκεο μοίσας ‘but you, Thyrsis, are used to sing the story of Daphnis and have become a master of bucolic poetry’) and according to Diodorus of Sicily (4.84.4) musical Daphnis himself was said to have invented τὸ βουκολικὸν ποίημα καὶ μέλος, ‘bucolic poetry and song’, which, Diodorus proudly adds, ‘until today remain transmitted traditionally in Sicily’ (μέχρι τοῦ νῦν κατὰ τῇν Σικελίαν τυγχάνει διαμένον ἐν ἀποδοχῇ). In other words, Theocritus appears to be taking up, not inventing, a genre that had been around before him.⁴⁵

More crucially still, Aelian, after a summary of the story of Daphnis being blinded for his broken faith, adds: Στησίχορον γε τὸν ἡμερᾶν τῆς τοιαύτης μελοποιίας ὑπάρξασθαι ‘Stesichorus of Himera is supposed to have begun this type of song-making’ (Ael. VH 10.18 = Stes. fr. spur. 279 Davies). Modern editors of Stesichorus have dismissed this claim as spurious, together with further independent evidence for ‘romantic ballads’ of Stesichorus; but there is no reason why one should accept this act of misguided historical criticism.⁴⁶ In fact Aelian’s version has a perfectly Stesichorean flavour to it. Whoever knows of the *Palinode* must recognize the poet’s own *persona* in a Daphnis who succumbs to, and is punished for, a forbidden desire. If we therefore accept that Theocritus not only ‘excerpted’ Stesichorus in *Idyll* 18, the *epithalamios* of Helen (cf. Schol. Theocr. 18 *arg.* = Stes. fr. 189) but also followed this fellow Sicilian poet in turning popular bucolic song into a literary genre, he suddenly looks much less innovative.⁴⁷ And what is more, if we also remember that Stesichorus regularly

⁴⁵ Note also that ‘no one in antiquity explicitly credited [Theocritus] with having invented [bucolic poetry]’ (Halperin 1983: 78).

⁴⁶ Cf. especially Lehnus (1975) and D’Alfonso (1994: 89–103), against e.g. West (1970: 206), Halperin (1983: 79–80) and Bertolini (2001: 90). Halperin misrepresents Aelian’s views when he translates ὑπάρξασθαι as ‘inherited [sc. from Daphnis]’.

⁴⁷ That Asclepiades of Samos and Philitas of Cos (cf. esp. Bowie 1985), without strong evidence and against the ancient sources, as pointed out by Gutzwiller (1991: 6) also wrote bucolic poetry can hardly be inferred from Theocr. 7.39–41; even if Simichidas ‘is’ Theocritus, no competition in the same genre is implied here (*pace* Puelma (1960: 158)). On this much-discussed poem cf. further e.g. Hunter (1996b: 20–8), and on the popular origins of bucolic song Athen. 14.619b as well as various scholia with different versions often involving Sicily (listed in Halperin (1983: 81–2), with bibliography on relevant modern scholarship).

used the same choral lyric language as Alcman, we may well end up with a centuries-old Sicilian tradition of bucolic poetry written in a 'generic Doric' dialect very similar to the one found in Theocritus. Perhaps, then, Theocritus' language, which, as pointed out above, must not be tied too strictly to a specifically Alcmænic model, should really be thought of as para-Stesichorean⁴⁸ – so that both the genre and the sound of Theocritus' 'new poetry' in the end look far more Sicilian than Hellenistic and new.

And that leads on to the second point. What has just been formulated as an opposition may not really be one. Even if we place Stesichorus next to Sophron as a forerunner of Theocritus, we may still concede that Theocritus' hybrid of 'lowly' bucolic and/or mime with 'lofty' epic metre is unheard of before, and hence 'Hellenistic'; for if our concept of 'Hellenistic literary culture' is stripped to its essentials, there are but two main ingredients in it: generic experimentation⁴⁹ and universal learnedness. The latter, which may be traced back to scholar-poets like Philitas of Cos and Antimachus of Colophon and which became so prominent in Callimachus, is only of limited importance in Theocritus;⁵⁰ it is really the former that earns him his place in the hall of fame of Hellenistic literature.

But now let us think again of the Sicilian Stesichorus: Stesichorus' great achievement in the history of literature is the experimental creation of a generic hybrid too, one of choral lyric and epic, or an epically rethematized and relexified choral lyric, which responds to the colonial need for a new common genre bridging the gap between the Ionian and the Doric traditions meeting in Sicily (cf. Willi 2008: 89–90). After Stesichorus, the Syracusan Epicharmus also creates a novel hybrid, this time by turning colloquial language, the language of the 'lowly' man in the street,

⁴⁸ Given the Stesichorean connection of *Idyll* 18, which Hunter (1996b: esp. 150–1) acknowledges, 'analogical *mimesis* of the language of Alcman' (Hunter 1996b: 154) need not be invoked even for this 'Spartan' poem.

⁴⁹ 'Kreuzung der Gattungen' is the classical term of Kroll (1924: 202), who had been anticipated by Legrand (1898: 413–36, 'confusion des genres') and others (cf. Halperin (1983: 203)). Rossi (1971: 83–4 with n. 76) cites e.g. Cercidas of Megalopolis' philosophical work in the style of the new dithyramb or Callimachus' epinician odes in elegiac distichs.

⁵⁰ Note at least the dialect glosses in Theocr. 12.13–14; but even learned allusions like those to Simonides' Thessalian patrons in Theocr. 16.34–9 are not very arcane.

for the first time into the recognized medium of communal literature, thus paving the way for both later comedy and mime (Willi 2008: 158–61). Still later, Gorgias of Leontinoi invents yet another hybrid: *Kunstprosa*, which amalgamates pedestrian prose and high poetry into one. And the story goes on in the fourth century: Archestratus of Gela writes a gastronomical didactic poem (Ἡδυπύθειον) in epic dialect and metre – not an epic parody, like the roughly contemporary work by Matro of Pitane, but a hybrid based on the emerging genre of cookery books in Sicily and Magna Graecia,⁵¹ Archestratus’ immediate source of inspiration perhaps being the equally hybrid gastronomical dithyramb Δεῖπνον of Philoxenus of Cythera, a poem which perfectly suits the context of Philoxenus’ stay at the court of Dionysius I of Syracuse (PMG 836).⁵²

It is hard to believe that this concentration of literary hybrids in Sicily is a coincidence. In Willi (2008: esp. 4–8 and 324–6), I have suggested that it is a product of the colonial environment, where a new identity had to be construed in opposition to the oppressive weight of imported tradition. However that may be, we do not find anything like it elsewhere in the Greek world⁵³ – before Hellenistic times, that is, when the Greeks again find themselves united

⁵¹ Mithaeus of Syracuse (fifth century) is already mentioned by Pl. *Gorg.* 518b; see further Athen. 12.516c–d, who also refers to Glaucus of Locri, two Syracusan writers called Heracleides, and Hegesippus of Tarentum (pre-Hellenistic), among other later writers (cf. Bilabel (1921: 934–41)). On Archestratus, his style and relationship to other gastronomic texts see now Olson and Sens (2000: esp. xxviii–xliii).

⁵² Pace Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (1900: 85–8), the Δεῖπνον must not be ascribed to the otherwise obscure Philoxenus of Leucas: Athen. 4.146f is correcting his ascription in Athen. 1.5b, as shown by his unequivocal later citations in Athen. 11.476e, 11.487a, 14.642f and 15.685d; note that the hexametrical quotation from an ὀψαρτυσία ‘cookery-book’ by Philoxenus in Plat. Com. fr. 189.6 is hardly compatible with the dactylo-epitrites of PMG 836, but Plato must surely mean the famous Philoxenus, and since Philoxenus of Cythera also wrote a hybrid ‘genealogy’ in melic form (PMG 814), it is quite possible that he also attempted a further hybrid of the type exemplified by Archestratus’ work (cf. Olson and Sens (2000: xl–xliii)). Like Stesichorus and Sophron, Philoxenus of Cythera (on whose life in Sicily see PMG 815, 816, 819) seems to have been among Theocritus’ sources (cf. Gow (1950: II 118) on *Idylls* 6 and 11).

⁵³ When Callimachus defends his own πολυειδεια, ‘genre diversity’, in *Iamb.* 13 by referring to Ion of Chios, he points to a classical predecessor who had tried his hands at, but not made a hybrid of, different genres; but his Hellenistic opponents apparently take issue with linguistic hybridization as well (cf. Call. *Iamb.* 13 fr. 203.18 ἴασσι καὶ Δωρισσι καὶ τὸ σύμμεικτον ‘in Ionic and Doric and a mixture’; Bertolini (2001: 88–9)). Plato (*Leg.* 700d) complains about generic hybridization among the representatives of ‘New Music’; again one may think above all of Philoxenus of Cythera (cf. Ar. fr. 953 and the parody in Ar. *Plut.* 290–315, Zimmermann (1992: esp. 127–8)).

‘abroad’.⁵⁴ At that point the conditions for generic experimentation and hybridization are again ideal, except that this time round the way to proceed is already known: for Sicily, archaic, classical and post-classical, has shown it. Reducing the novelty of Theocritus’ work therefore need not mean reducing its importance in the history of Greek literature. Not only is it Hellenistic precisely because it is also deeply Sicilian, but with its intrinsic Sicilianness, in content, form *and* language, it may even have acted as the main intermediary between Sicily and Alexandria, triggering much of what we nowadays admire Hellenistic literature for.

⁵⁴ The formation of the dialectally ‘mixed’ koine is therefore an extra-literary parallel rather than a precondition of this literary hybridization (as suggested by Bertolini (2001: 90)); cf. above on the somewhat earlier formation of the Doric koina in Sicily and Willi (2008: 34–5).

PART III

LATIN

CHAPTER 11

SICULI BILINGUES? LATIN IN THE INSCRIPTIONS OF EARLY ROMAN SICILY*

Olga Tribulato

Introduction

At *Metamorphoses* 11.5.22, Apuleius famously calls the Sicilians *trilingues*, an epithet which seems to suggest that they were then known to be speakers of Greek, Latin and a third language, possibly Punic.¹ The ancients were aware that classical Sicily constituted a special linguistic environment, in which different languages were mixed under the hegemony of Greek. After Sicily fell under Rome's control, this hegemony was seriously challenged by Latin, which gradually acquired prestige in bureaucratic and official communication. However, the nature and extent of the interaction between Greek and Latin in Sicily – the spheres of influence of each language and their use on the part of distinct communities – is a topic the exact contours of which elude easy definition, to the point that it would be controversial to call Sicilians of the Roman period *bilingues* without adding the necessary caveats.² In this chapter I wish to contribute to the question of the nature of the Sicilian Greek–Latin bilingualism by focusing on the early Roman period, in order to offer a critical overview of what we know about the linguistic situation at the time of the

Thanks are due to James Clackson, Kalle Korhonen and Simon Malloch for their comments on a previous draft of this chapter.

¹ For this interpretation, see Griffiths (1975: 150–1).

² I purposely use *bilinguis* with its technical, and less common, meaning of ‘bilingual, speaking two languages’, which may well derive from the Greek διγλωσσος; see Poccetti (1986b: 193), with evidence from ancient glossaries, where the term is glossed ‘*duas linguas sciens*’ *vel sim*. The technical meaning of the term is also implicit in Apuleius’ *trilingues*. As Poccetti (1986b: 194–5, 204–5) goes on to argue, *bilinguis* is mostly used with its second meaning of ‘deceitful, treacherous person’, which however does not arise from a negative outlook on bilingualism, but rather alludes to the forked tongue of snakes.

first contacts between Greek speakers and Latin speakers in the island.³

My choice of topic stems from the observation that while Imperial Sicily has attracted the attention of linguists, Republican and Augustan Sicily has generally been neglected.⁴ In the past, this was justified by the paucity of texts for the period when compared to the wealth of evidence from Imperial and Christian Sicily. In recent years, however, the publication of new inscriptions and new corpora of texts has made the work of linguists more feasible:⁵ an analysis of these new texts vis-à-vis what we already know about the later chronological phase opens new perspectives on Greek–Latin language contact in the island.

Previous research

Interest in the linguistic interaction of Greek and Latin flourished between the late 1960s and the 1980s, years which witnessed the publication of a number of specialist articles and book chapters on the topic: notably, Finley (1968) and (1979), Rohlf's (1972), Varvaro (1981), Melazzo (1984), and Manganaro (1988). More recent contributions include Wilson (1990: 29–30) on the linguistic impact of Italians in the island, Manganaro (1993) and (1994) on the distribution of inscriptions in the cities and in the countryside, Prag (2002) on the Greek and Latin epigraphic habit as evidence of language use in Sicily, Korhonen (2002) on Greek/Latin imbalance in Roman Syracuse, Salmeri (2004) and Consani (2006) on Sicilian Greek in the Roman period, and Korhonen (2011b) on language and identity in the Roman colonies of Sicily.

Despite the vast range of works on the languages of ancient Sicily, a monograph on the Greek–Roman linguistic interaction is

³ On Greek–Latin bilingualism in general see Kaimio (1979), Rochette (1997), Blanc and Christol (1999), Biville (1990–5), (1993), (1998), Adams (2003), Adams, Janse and Swain (2003), Dickey (2003), Biville, Decourt and Rougemont (2008), Wallace-Hadrill (2008), Rochette (2010).

⁴ A recent exception is Korhonen (2011b).

⁵ See Manni Piraino's *IGPalermo*, Bivona's *ILPalermo* and *ILTermini*, Bitto's *IGLMessina*, Bernabò Brea, Cavalier and Campagna's *IGLLipari*, Korhonen's *IMC-Catania*, the proceedings of the five-yearly conferences on ancient Sicily published in *Kokalos* and the latest additions in Gulletta (1999).

still lacking and even Adams (2003) and (2007), the author of the two most recent monographs on ancient bilingualism and Latin regional diversification, addresses Sicily only cursorily. There are, it would seem, two factors that account for the fact that Sicily remains a relatively lesser-known area in the field of ancient bilingualism. The first concerns the availability and accessibility of written documentation: while there are now comprehensive corpora of Greek dialectal inscriptions,⁶ the post-classical material is not gathered in a both comprehensive and up-to-date corpus (*CIL* X and *IG* XIV being obsolete); other corpora go by city.⁷ While this is certainly not an unparalleled situation in classical studies, the level of confusion in the case of Sicilian epigraphy appears to be particularly high, with some texts languishing in private collections or museum depots, and others that have been republished several times over the course of a few years, often with negligible or debatable alterations.⁸

The second factor concerns the nature and quality of the available texts: the distribution of inscriptions from early Roman Sicily is particularly baffling, with large parts of the island being under-represented in periods when the cities themselves were thriving.⁹ If this may partially be due to the lack of thorough excavations – at least in the case of those ancient cities, such as Catania,¹⁰ which lie buried under a modern centre – it is also an undeniable fact that Sicilian epigraphy, which was already rather limited in Greek times, remained poor in terms of both the length of texts and their material execution under the Romans.¹¹ Another common problem is that no information about provenance is available for many

⁶ Arena's *ISicMG* I–V; Dubois' *IGDS* I and *IGDS* II.

⁷ See n. 5 above. For the (scant) evidence provided by Greek historians and Cicero's *Verines* on Greek–Latin linguistic interaction, see Lomas (2000), Wilson (2000), Consani (2006: 468), Prag (2007b).

⁸ See Prag (2002: 19). On the need for a full inventory of the epigraphic collection in the Syracuse museum, see Korhonen (2007: 298).

⁹ See Wilson (1990: 22) à propos Republican Sicily. For a map with distribution of inscriptions, see Prag (2007b: 269).

¹⁰ See the remarks in Korhonen (2004) and texts in *IMCCatania*. An additional problem is the difficulty of knowing the correct provenance of inscriptions that have reached us through private collections: see Korhonen (2001: 90).

¹¹ Bivona (2001: 49–50, 54) notes the materially 'poor' and 'laconic' character of Sicilian Latin epigraphy. See further Prag (2002: 26).

published texts, which have been included among inscriptions from a given area on a completely speculative basis.¹²

In the study of Roman Sicily we are thus faced with a particularly challenging vicious circle. More than anywhere else, the difficult state of affairs with epigraphy means that statistics about the distribution of texts – when they can be trusted at all – cannot straightforwardly be taken to reflect the linguistic situation in their period,¹³ and that any conclusions regarding the frequency and usage of a language in a given Sicilian area must be approached with caution. In effect, the problem also lies with our ability to produce counts and statistics that can be trusted. To the best of my knowledge, Prag (2002) is the most recent and complete attempt at a complete statistics of Sicilian inscriptions (seventh century BC – seventh century AD), but working out definite numbers for individual periods on the basis of his charts proves tricky.¹⁴ Relying partly on Prag's charts and partly on his own collection of texts, Korhonen (2011b) offers an example of a sound statistical method applied to epitaphs and onomastics from six early Imperial cities, with a particular focus on Syracuse. A method of this sort should be extended to the Sicilian corpus as a whole.¹⁵

In the light of these considerations, crucial questions concerning Sicily's bilingualism may well be unanswerable: Can we hope to know anything about the acquisition of literacy in Latin in early Roman Sicily? Do honorary inscriptions and official texts show that the elites *spoke* Latin, or rather that they were ready to have their homage written in Latin but incapable of writing the text themselves?¹⁶ How can we hope to know anything about the 'middle' and 'lower' classes if we mostly have official or highly

¹² A common situation for texts from Palermo (*ILPalermo*) and Messina (*IGLMessina*).

¹³ See Prag (2002: 15–18 and 21), followed by Consani (2006: 468).

¹⁴ Prag (2007b: 246) calculates a total number of 215 inscriptions for Hellenistic Sicily (third – first century BC). We can attempt to break down this number into smaller units on the basis of chart 2.1. in Prag (2002: 22): c.38 texts at the end of the third century BC, c.47 at the end of the second century BC and c.68 at the end of the first century BC. However, once they are combined together, these numbers do not give out a coherent picture: the sum of Hellenistic texts worked out in Prag (2002: 22) is c.153, while that calculated by Prag (2007b: 246) is 215. This is small but telling proof of the difficulty with producing statistics for Sicilian epigraphy highlighted above.

¹⁵ See too discussion of linguistic distribution of inscriptions from Syracuse in Korhonen (2002: 70).

¹⁶ See some of the conclusions in Prag (2002).

standardized texts? In the case of some inscriptions we are lucky enough to be able to guess the ethnic provenance and sometimes even the social class of the inscriber: often, these are the very same texts in which we find evidence of bilingualism. If the corpus were extended to include *instrumenta domestica* we might gain a different sort of information, though the conclusions that one may be able to draw from such documentation would illuminate prosopography more than the sociolinguistics of Sicily.¹⁷

What kind of bilingualism?

The word ‘bilingualism’ itself should be used with caution to describe early Roman Sicily. On a theoretical level, the question is whether genuine Greek–Latin bilingualism existed in Sicily, or whether we should rather think in terms of *diglossia*.¹⁸ We know for certain that many official inscriptions continue to be written in Greek at the end of the first century AD, and this is commonly taken as proof that Greek was widely spoken in everyday communication, but we do not know enough to conclude whether in early Roman Sicily Latin was also widely spoken. Even the documentation pertaining to the following centuries is baffling: if people with Greek names commissioned texts in Latin, does this mean that they were fluent in the language? And, more specifically, what kind of bilingualism does this situation reveal? If it is most likely that individuals were perfect bilinguals (individual bilingualism), does this apply to Sicilian society as a whole (societal bilingualism)?¹⁹ The task is easier for Imperial Sicily, when viewed in terms of its historical development. Latin became the standard language for administrative and public inscriptions, while Greek remained predominant in funerary epigraphy. Korhonen (Chapter 12) maintains

¹⁷ For the pottery marks, see Garozzo (1999), (2001b), and (2006), all with further bibliography. For the study of onomastics as a useful tool for sociolinguistics in Roman Sicily, see Korhonen (2011b) and next chapter.

¹⁸ On bilingualism vs *diglossia*, see Adams (2003: 349–50), Leiwo (1995: 56–7), and the caveats in Dickey (2003: 297) and Mullen (2011). Lomas (2000: 168–9) discusses the choice of language in Sicilian elite and non-elite texts, while Korhonen (2002: 70–1) has a few remarks on ‘bilingualism’ in Roman Syracuse. The most recent discussion of issues pertaining to Sicilian bilingualism or code-switching is Korhonen (2011b).

¹⁹ On this distinction, see Adams (2003: 6–7).

that bilingualism was most likely widespread and that there were probably no unilingual areas: Imperial Sicily would thus be a case of ‘border-area multilingualism’.

On a practical level, any investigation of bilingualism in Sicily is difficult. Since strictly bilingual texts are rare,²⁰ we have to reckon with those monolingual texts which *implicitly* reveal a bilingual situation, unmasking cases of imperfect bilingualism. In the case of early Roman Sicily, inscriptions pointing towards bilingualism (e.g. through linguistic interference, borrowing, grammatical mistakes, and reduced morphology) more frequently expose cases of imperfect control over Latin than over Greek, which complies with the assumed scenario: incomers were readier to use Greek (possibly also because many of them lived in areas of Italy where Greek was spoken as well) than the natives were to use Latin. Cicero’s testimony in the *Verrines* shows that in early Roman Sicily incomers may have needed interpreters to conduct public business, as was the case with Verres himself. Judging from available inscriptions, Greek was still overwhelmingly used in the public administration, as well as for dedications and honorifics (see e.g. *IG XIV* 259, 273, 288, 353, 354, 356, 359, 366, 434). Latin texts, which occur in smaller numbers, were typically produced by Romans, and are for the most part highly standardized.²¹ Long inscriptions in Latin might have been useless for communication within a society which did not know Latin. By contrast, by the end of Augustus’ principate Latin appears to have become the predominant language in public administrative inscriptions, as Korhonen argues in detail in the next chapter.

Historical overview and chronological distribution of texts

In this chapter I make a start at providing a more systematic study of the early phase of the linguistic contact between Greeks and

²⁰ See the fragmentary *IG XIV* 472 = *CIL X* 7077 and *IG XIV* 491 = *CIL X* 7078, as well as *IG XIV* 297 = *CIL X* 7296 (discussed below).

²¹ See Prag (2007b: 259): ‘the infrequent Latin epigraphy is mostly the work of outsiders making statements of either a public and/or a religious nature, reflecting the activities of Roman magistrates, or dedications at sanctuaries, or the familiar category of *negotiatores* inscriptions, outsiders talking to outsiders in front of locals’.

Romans, roughly between the third century BC and Augustus' death. Rather than numbers, what interests me here is the possibility of gaining insight into the linguistic penetration of Latin in Hellenistic Sicily. My aim is to describe the way in which the linguistic balance may have shifted more towards Latin by the end of Augustus' reign. I will not take all available inscriptions into consideration, but will focus my attention on texts which are significant either historically (as is the case, for instance, with Cotta's mid-third-century BC *miliarium*) or linguistically, because they contain hints of language contact.

In what follows the epigraphic texts are divided into three groups: (1) texts dated between the third century BC and the beginning of the first century BC; (2) texts dated between the beginning of the first century BC and 36 BC (the year of Octavian's victory over Sextus Pompeius); (3) texts dated between 36 BC and c. AD 14 (Augustus' death). This subdivision is based on historical criteria and attempts to link the increase in the number of surviving Latin texts to specific historical events; yet, it is not a strict division: a few overspillings have been allowed at the low end of the third chronological period, particularly as the dating of a large number of texts is vague. The balance between Greek and Latin texts for the whole period under investigation is still in favour of Greek, though by the end of the first century AD Latin inscriptions are the most frequent.

Hellenistic Sicily

Official contacts between Romans and Sicilians began with the request made by the Mamertines of Messina for Rome's help against Carthaginian expansionism in the third century BC. The later fall of Sicily under complete Roman control in 211 BC was thus preceded by half a century of Roman presence in the island. Rome's intervention to help the Mamertines against Carthage led to the conquest of Akragas in 261 BC and eventually to the First Punic War. By the end of this war, in 241 BC, all of Sicily, with the notable exception of Syracuse and her territories, had been made a Roman province. While the consequences of the First Punic War were disastrous for some of the cities, others flourished: in

this period Syracuse was a thriving cultural centre.²² The rebellion of some Sicilian cities (including Syracuse, Megara Hyblaea, Henna, Morgantina and Akragas) and its brutal repression on the part of the Romans left much of east Sicily bereft of its industries and population. Hellenistic and early first-century Sicily is largely characterized by the persistence of Greek traditions, particularly as regards taxation and economy, which the Romans modified but did not wipe out.²³ A lot of this can be gauged from the Greek inscriptions of this period, including honorifics, lists of magistrates, various public inscriptions, and religious dedications.²⁴ As the chief interest of the provincial administration lay in the development of the agricultural potential of Sicily, Rome neither prevented the decline of some of the Greek cities nor built new urban centres, with the result that the Greek character of the island was never truly challenged.²⁵

The transformation of Sicily into a huge grain market, as well as its strategic position for the contacts with Africa, attracted immigrations of *negotiatores*, who must have contributed to the exploitation and development of the Sicilian agricultural system. We would like to ascertain how language and linguistic interaction reflect these unique socio-political conditions, but we must unfortunately reckon with limited epigraphic evidence.²⁶ In terms of provenance, it will be possible to produce few statistics for this period until a full corpus exists; the three inscriptions (out of perhaps seventeen) that I discuss in the corresponding section below come – unsurprisingly – from west Sicily (the Cotta milestone and the dedication to Apollo from Halaesa) and Syracuse: west Sicily underwent Romanization earlier on and in east Sicily Syracuse was the city that had most contact with the Romans at this early stage. We know very little about the rest of island.

These texts are good, standardized Latin texts, seemingly put up by outsiders. They provide evidence for Roman penetration in

²² See Wilson (1990: 18) and [Chapter 10](#) in this volume.

²³ For preservation of Greek institutions as an important part of Roman rule in Republican Sicily see now Prag (2007a).

²⁴ See Prag (2007b: 257–8) on Hellenistic Sicilian epigraphy, particularly for the last part of the period.

²⁵ Gabba (1986: 73–4).

²⁶ Cf. Clemente (1980–1: 204): ‘la prosopografia è certamente scarsa per il II secolo’.

the island, but do not inform us about other events that took place in this period. The emigrations and social changes which followed the last Punic War, and most importantly the movement of large numbers of slaves and mercenaries into Sicily, which eventually triggered the two slave wars of 139–132 BC and 103–100 BC, must have altered the linguistic balance of the island. We have no direct evidence for any of these phenomena, and in particular for the linguistic input of these Italian newcomers, whatever their first language might have been. The Sicilian crisis of the first century BC, which is epitomized by the corrupt administration of Verres in Cicero's *Verrines*, is absent from the epigraphic sources.²⁷

From 100 to 36 BC

The next period for which clear chronological limits can be set is that between the beginning of the first century BC and the year 36, when Octavian defeated Sextus Pompeius and acquired control of the entire island.²⁸ The first sixty-four years of this century are laden with important historical events which had an ever-lasting impact on the political and social structure of the island. Just before 44 BC, Caesar conferred the *ius Latii* on a number of Sicilian cities, an event which probably had important consequences for the language that cities and individuals chose for writing official texts. An increasing number of Roman and Italic individuals and families moved to Sicily, leaving their names on inscriptions. On the other hand, the opposite allegiances of Sicilian cities in the war between Octavian and Sextus Pompeius (39–36 BC) and the brief interruption of all connections between Sicily and Rome at this time also prompted a resurgence of Sicilian individualism, which would explain the severe punishments meted out by Augustus in the following years: a final blow to the already decaying status of many Greek cities.²⁹

²⁷ See Prag (2007b: 251).

²⁸ Overview of this period, with linguistic considerations, in Korhonen (2011b: 7–11).

²⁹ Gabba (1986: 77). There is an ongoing debate over the actual reasons for the so-called *eremia* (decline or rather reorganization of urban areas to suit the needs of the provincial administration): see Clemente (1980–1: 210), Asheri (1982–3: 475), Wilson (1990: 23) and Manganaro (1988: 16). According to the latter, the *eremia* is to be understood as a political decline, rather than as a complete abandonment. Our perception of this issue is largely influenced by Strabo 6.2.5–6, who may have exaggerated the situation.

It is against this socio-economic background that the linguistic evidence for this period must be assessed. Again, the only reasonably dated numbers that can be cited are those by Prag (2002), who counts about sixty-eight texts for the whole of the first century BC: of these, about thirty may have been produced before 36 BC. It is exactly at this point that Greek inscriptions begin to decrease: chart 2.2 in Prag (2002: 23) shows that while Latin became increasingly common from the late first century BC – to the point of becoming the main inscriptional language in the first century AD – the use of Greek waned between the first century BC and the end of the first century AD. Some of the texts dated to this period allow us to follow the historical events: this is the case with the complete inscription recording Sextus Pompeius' fortification of Lilybaeum, one of the few texts from this period which we can date with certainty (*ILPalermo* 7, 39–36 BC). If official texts are too standardized to allow bold conclusions on bilingualism, other texts from this period provide more promising evidence (see below).

Augustan Sicily

The figures available for the last period show a clear increase in the number of Latin inscriptions, reaching fifty in the first decade (and about sixty-eight at the turn of the century). Most of these texts are honorifics or dedications, a fact that must be viewed in the light of the establishment of the imperial cult towards the end of the century and the growth of Roman senatorial nobility at the expense of the local aristocracy, one of the consequences of Augustus' repressive measures against the rebel cities.³⁰ Augustus' intention to exercise a firm control over the island also led in 21 BC to the establishment of veteran colonies in Thermae Himeraeae (Termini Imerese), Tyndaris (Tindari), Tauromenium (Taormina), Catina (Catania) and Syracusae (Syracuse) and possibly also Panormus (Palermo).³¹ Large centres that had not been

³⁰ Note that already towards the end of the first century the prevalence of public inscriptions gives way to that of funerary texts: see Korhonen (2011b: 8).

³¹ For the possible reasons for this settlement *en masse*, see Wilson (1990: 35–8) and Salmeri (2004: 274–7). Korhonen (2011b) discusses the linguistic impact of the founding of colonies in Sicily. On the controversy over whether a colony was founded in Palermo as well, see Giardina (1987: 226–31).

made *coloniae* had the status of *municipia*;³² minor centres were made *civitates* and paid a *stipendium* to Rome. The new provincial organization further marked the gap between coastal cities, which were exempt from the payment of taxes and thus could flourish, and those at the heart of the island, which had begun to decay some time earlier and were eventually replaced by the great rural estates controlled by the Roman aristocracy and by members of the imperial family.³³ Inscriptions from this period and the rest of the first century AD also testify to the settlement of Roman landowners as well as *gentes* from northern Italy, another factor which must have triggered a change in the linguistic balance of the island.

While the occurrence of the above historical events is an uncontroversial fact, the way in which they occurred is often a matter of debate, an example being the appraisal of what role Roman administrators played in the island's government in this period. From the point of view of Sicily's linguistic history, the bone of contention concerns the roles and spheres of use of Greek and Latin, and whether it is possible to detect any geographical difference in their use.³⁴ When extended to the whole history of Roman Sicily, this question proves highly significant for understanding the transition from Late Latin to Romance, to the point that it has encouraged a view of the linguistic history of the island as a sort of undifferentiated continuum: the description of later Imperial Sicily has thus often been superimposed onto Hellenistic Sicily and the early Empire in rather a simplistic fashion (see Conclusions, below).

Looking at geographical distribution, many of the texts from this period come from west Sicily, although in east Sicily Syracuse is relatively well represented. In part, the distribution is due to the state of archaeological research, which in recent years has focused on west Sicily and sites such as *Thermae Himeraeae*, *Lilybaeum*, *Selinous* and *Segesta*. Epigraphic evidence from east Sicily becomes more prominent for the later Imperial period (covered by

³² On their exact number and identity, see Wilson (1990: 35–45).

³³ Gabba (1986: 77), Wilson (1990: 34).

³⁴ For the period following the founding of colonies, Korhonen (2011b: 10–11) detects a difference in the linguistic practices of public inscriptions from Syracuse, where Greek was the majority language, vis-à-vis those from other colonies, which show a preference for Latin.

Korhonen in [Chapter 12](#)), with a large number of inscriptions from Syracuse, Catania and Messina.³⁵ In terms of typology, at this early stage honorifics and dedications are represented in equal numbers to funerary inscriptions (later to become the most common type), though in this period honorifics from east Sicily are rare.³⁶

Evidence for Latin and language contact from the third to the early first century BC

Of the Latin texts that can safely be dated to this period, the most interesting is without doubt the milestone that the Roman consul Aurelius Cotta had erected on the road leading from Agrigentum to Panormus (*ILLRP* 1277, probably third century BC):

[C. A]urelius

[L. f.] Cottas

[C]onsol

LVII.

There are several reasons why this inscription is such a well-known text, starting from the fact that it is one of the few milestones from Sicily, and the oldest. In dating it to the mid-third century BC, I side with the scholars who interpret the stone as a monument erected in a period when the improvement of road conditions in this part of Sicily was central to the movement of the troops engaged in the first Punic War. As Prag (2006) has remarked, the stone may well represent a sort of symbolic trophy marking Rome's conquest of that part of the Sicilian territory.³⁷

If this early dating is accepted, this inscription can be seen as the oldest Latin document from Sicily, and one which testifies to

³⁵ See Bivona (2001: 49): '[t]enendo conto dei materiali pubblicati nel *CIL* e soprattutto dei rinvenimenti posteriori, l'area della Sicilia sud-occidentale e della costa settentrionale è quella che ha dato, senza dubbio, il maggiore contributo di nuovi testi'.

³⁶ See Prag (2007b: 257). Concerning the rarity of honorifics from east Sicily, see Bivona (2001: 55–6), who argues that it must be ascribed to the different epigraphic habit of this part of the island, rather than to the supposedly small number of senatorial families present in this part of the island. On Sicilian senatorial families, see Eck (1996b).

³⁷ On the controversy over the dating of the milestone, see Prag (2006: 733–4).

Rome's impact on and control over the west part of the island. In spite of its formulaic character, this short text contains a feature which raises interesting questions concerning Greek–Latin bilingualism in the third century BC: the name of Cotta, which shows the Greek ending *-as*. This is a clear case of morphological influence: as in a Greek-speaking environment names ending in *-a* must have been perceived to be feminine, the Latin *Cotta* has been re-marked by adding the Greek masculine ending. We can only speculate whether this addition is owed to the initiative of the person who inscribed the text,³⁸ or whether the Hellenized morphology reflects a wish on the part of the Romans (perhaps Cotta himself) to comply with local traditions. Since Latin *-as* nominatives are frequent only in personal names of Greek origin,³⁹ the second scenario is more intriguing, as it suggests the accommodation of the Roman administration to the island's overwhelmingly Greek culture. Note also that Latin inscriptions from this period do not usually note double consonants and the <TT> in Cotta's name is likely to be the result of Greek interference.⁴⁰

As already noted, the Latin inscriptions from this period are mainly the work of outsiders and their degree of standardization is high. In addition to the Cotta milestone, we find a dedication, *CIL* X 7265 (= *ILPalermo* 73, *CIL* I² 2219), which according to Bivona (*ad ILPalermo* 73) may be even older than the Cotta milestone:

Apoline

L(ucius) Carnius C(ai)f(i)lius.

Very little can safely be said also about the third text, a fragmentary dedication from Syracuse (*CIL* I² 3429). What can be read is simply:

]pition[

]sanus d[

³⁸ Cf. Prag (2006: 734): 'il lapicida era greco e locale'. ³⁹ Leumann (1977: 281).

⁴⁰ Double consonants also occur in *CIL* VI 01281 = *ILLRP* 295 (*M. Claudius M. f. / consol / Hinnad cepit*), where the spelling *Hinnad* is a case of Greek interference. I owe this reference to James Clackson.

Degrassi (*ad CIL* I² 3429) interpreted the text as [–]*pition*[– | *Syracu?*]*sanus d(onum) [d(at)] (dono dedit / dat* is also likely). In all likelihood, the first word is a personal name, given that the other possibilities ([*sus*]*pition[ibus*, [*so*]*pition[ibus*, [*sus*]*pition[em* or even [*ca*]*piti on[orauit]*) do not fit the context. This interpretation is further strengthened by the fact that in what remains of the inscription]*pition*[is written in larger letters than the words in the second line.⁴¹ Among all known Greek and Latin personal names, Πιτίων (*LGPN* II = *IG* II² 12459, fourth century BC) is the only likely possibility.⁴² The hypothesis that the dedicator of this inscription had a Greek name opens an interesting perspective on Greek–Latin bilingualism in this part of Sicily. The underlying question is whether Pition was a Greek speaker or a Latin speaker. The restoration of]*sanus* as the adjective *Syracusanus* renders the hypothesis that he was a Latin speaker from outside (perhaps, given his Greek name, a *libertus*) less likely. If he was a Greek speaker, his putting up an inscription in Latin in this period may suggest that Syracuse already had a sizeable Latin-speaking community before being made a *colonia* in 21 BC.⁴³

The small number of Latin inscriptions dated to the early period of Rome’s presence on the island confirm the idea that Latin remained a minority language. One is certainly led to wonder what might have induced the probably Greek-speaking Syracusan Pition to set up an inscription in Latin at a time when Greek public epigraphy in Syracuse was in full bloom.⁴⁴ But leaving this question aside, it is clear that the three texts discussed above are rather unhelpful when it comes to the issues of bilingualism and language contact: the morphological interference in Cotta’s name probably betrays a desire to make Latin conform to Greek custom, yet as a linguistic phenomenon this is hardly extraordinary in itself.

⁴¹ Cf. illustration in *CIL* I² tab. 117 Fig. 6.

⁴² Thus also Korhonen (2011b: 9, 26 n. 34). Manganaro (1989: 177) proposes to restore the text to [*Isidi* (?)] / [(Praen.) (Nomen)] / *Pition* / [*reversus* (?)] / *salvus et*] *sanus d(edicavit)* and suggests that the inscription may have been put up by a Roman *negotiator* to thank an unknown deity for his safe return to Italy. The restoration is, of course, impossible to prove.

⁴³ Korhonen (2011b: 9) opts for an identical interpretation.

⁴⁴ See Prag (2007b: 251, 258) and Korhonen (2011b: 9–10).

Stronger evidence of a bicultural and bilingual society *in fieri* can be found in the Greek texts. The publication in 1997 of two *defixiones* from Lilybaeum (IGDS II 80) has much improved our knowledge of cultural interaction in west Sicily, confirming that at this stage Lilybaeum was inhabited not only by speakers of Greek and Punic, but also by speakers of Latin. The first *defixio*, dated to the beginning of the second century BC or perhaps slightly earlier, is inscribed on two sides of a lead tablet. Side A contains a curse written in good Doric Greek with some literary influences, while side B contains a second curse, with which the writer wishes to impair the physical and intellectual powers of other people:⁴⁵

(A)

καταδέω Ζωπυρίωνα τᾶς Μυμβυρ παρὰ Φερσε-
φόναι καὶ Τιτάνεσσι καταχθονίοις καὶ παρὰ
π[ρ]ιχομένοισι νέκυοις ^{vocat} ἐς τοὺς ἀτελέστους καὶ παρ-
ὰ [.]αρίαις Δάματρος παρ' ἀπευχομέ[ν]α[ισ]ιν
καταδέω δέ νιν ἐμ βολίμωι αἰῖσθησιν ?]
αὐτοῦ καὶ ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ ὥς μὴ δύνα[ται -- -]ν
λαλιά[ν] καταδέω δέ νιν ἐμ βολί[μ]ωι σ[ωφρο-]
[σ]ύναν [α]ύτάν καὶ νοῦν καὶ ψυ[χ]ήν].

(B)

[καταδέω] δὲ ὅπως
[μὴ δύνανται] ἀντία
[λέγειν] μ<ή>τε πο[ιεῖν]

IVNIVS
SEPTVMIVS
C. ACIN<I>VS
M. AN(N)IVS
L. VMBONIVS
M. NAVTIVS
M. RVSTIVS
L. NAVTIVS
VMBONIA

The *defixio* captures a unique situation: the cursed person, who has the common Greek name Ζωπυρίων, appears to be the son of

⁴⁵ Text from Bechtold and Brugnone (1997). See too Jordan (1997), with a commentary and textual improvements.

a woman who has a Punic name, Μυμβυρ.⁴⁶ Zopyrion is probably cursed for his legal action against the writer, in which he has the support of the individuals named on the right-hand corner of side B, who all have Latin names. These are mostly written with *praenomen* and *nomen*, but the first two persons seem to be named only with their family name. The last name on the list is more puzzling. If the reading is correct, we are dealing here with a woman who, as is customary in Roman nomenclature, is identified only through her *gentilicium* (although, as the editors note, the Umbonia *gens* is scantily represented in Sicily).

This *defixio* is remarkable for two reasons. Firstly, it suggests that members of the various ethnic groups at Lilybaeum participating in the same lawsuit could understand each other. Secondly, the use of two scripts that correspond to two languages, though not unparalleled, raises intriguing questions about the author's identity. In the much later digraphic Autun *defixio* (second century AD), for instance, the two scripts are written by different hands;⁴⁷ the Lilybaeum *defixio* does not show a change of hand, suggesting that its author had a high proficiency in both Latin and Greek. Consani (2006: 473) argues that the writer was a native speaker of Latin imbued with Greek culture: this hypothesis would also support Jordan's suggestion that the two Lilybaeum *defixiones* were written by the same person.⁴⁸

This second, perhaps slightly later *defixio* (beginning of the second century BC?) reinforces the picture of a multilingual Lilybaeum:

(A)

τὰν πρᾶξιν τὰν Απιθαμβ.αλ ποτὶ Νουμήριον
καταδίδημι παρὰ καταχθονίοισι θεοῖσι
καὶ Δαμ[έ]αν ὅπως [μ]ῇ δύναται ἀντία,
ὅπως μ[ῇ] δύναται λέγειν.

(B)

ποτὶ πα[.] πρᾶξι ἀντία λέγειν
μ[ῇ] <δ> δὲ μισῖν.

⁴⁶ Bechtold and Brugnone (1997: 120). ⁴⁷ See Marcillet-Jaubert (1979: 185).

⁴⁸ See Jordan (1997: 387) and my own analysis of the language of the second *defixio* below.

The cursed person has a Punic name, Apithambal, while the man who commissioned and perhaps also wrote the *defixio* has a Roman name, Numerius. Both names have been transliterated into Greek script, which offers a few elements of interest with regard to the impact of bilingualism and biliteracy. As expected, Latin /u/ is rendered with the Greek digraph <OY>, whereas use of <H> to express /e/ is more uncommon. A possibility is that in this linguistic context Greek speakers had lost vowel-length distinctions, so that <H> could be used for /e/. Another, more complex possibility is that the use of <H> reflects a specific trait of spoken Latin. Latin archaic inscriptions show that /e/ and /i/ could be confused when they occurred in unstressed syllables (e.g. the frequent *mereto* = *merito*), pointing to the fact that their pronunciation was very close.⁴⁹ The raising of /e/ to /i/ is a common phenomenon in Latin and does not appear to be impeded by stress: e.g. *frumintis* (*CIL* I² I, *fasti Praenestini* p. 236), *Sixtius* (*CIL* VIII 8294), *Kalindas* (*CIL* X 7776). While in standard Latin raising does not occur before /r/, spellings such as *Valirius* and *Vinirius* in Pompeii (*CIL* IV 2157, 4514) show that substandard Latin was more flexible.⁵⁰

The Greek spelling with <H> is thus easily explained if we consider that in lower-status Greek both [ē] and [ĕ] had moved towards the front axis, coinciding with /i:/, which eventually led to graphic confusion of the letters <H> and <I> (and of <EI>). Because of this confusion, <H> could also be used for /i/: in Greek texts from Egypt spellings such as ψήφησµα and εὐεργετηκῶς are attested as early as the beginning of the third century BC.⁵¹ The writer of this *defixio* clearly had problems with the spelling of /e/ and /i/ vowels in general, as the itacistic µισῖν on side B shows.

⁴⁹ See Wachter (1987: 250, 354–6) for further evidence and Wachter (1987: 305) for examples of <I> for /e/. See too Vine (1992: 162).

⁵⁰ See Väänänen (1959: 30). Note that since these names are attested on graffiti, and not on dipinti, exchange between <E> and <I> cannot be attributed to cursive writing and must be phonetic.

⁵¹ See Teodorsson (1977: 117), though these exchanges are not as frequent as in Byzantine Greek and would still appear to be an exception in Hellenistic times: cf. Horrocks (2010: 168). Teodorsson (1974: 286–99), however, argues that <H> might stand for /i/ (which points to the loss of vowel-length distinction) in the Attic majority (i.e. non-conservative) system by the mid-fourth century BC. See further Horrocks (2010: 165): ‘it may well be more realistic to push at least some of these changes back by a century or more, most obviously the loss of vowel-length distinctions and the associated shift to a stress accent, but also the completion of the raising of [e:] (η) to [i:]’.

It is more difficult to ascertain whether such close pronunciation of /e/ was a trait of Sicilian Latin already at this stage, as Consani (2006: 472 n. 20) has suggested. The evidence cited by Melazzo (1984: 43–5) from inscriptions dated between the third and fifth centuries AD only concerns /e:/, with the exception of *dit* for *det* in an inscription dated to AD 383. The merging of /e:/ with /i/ is definitely a trait of later Greek, and has been used to explain why Romance /e:/ becomes /i/ in modern Sicilian dialect (cf. Lat. *habēre, tenēre* > Sicilian *aviri, teniri*), but the hypothesis that this phenomenon had already started in Hellenistic Sicily is implausible.⁵²

The raising of /e/ to /i/ in the Lilybaeum *defixio* can also be explained by the hypothesis that Numerius was not a native Sicilian, but someone visiting from the mainland who pronounced his name with the raising evidenced in inscriptions from Latium and Campania, though it is not sure whether the raising of /e/ to /i/ is a trait of regional Latin (see in this respect the cautious comments in Adams (2007: 70–1)). If we assume that Numerius inscribed the *defixio* himself, being a Latin speaker with a high degree of proficiency in Greek, we could explain other spelling mistakes in the text: $\pi\rho\acute{\alpha}\xi\iota$, $\mu[\eta]\delta\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ and $\mu\iota\sigma\acute{\iota}\nu$.

The Latin inscriptions of this period are sparse and usually public. While it is safe to say that Latin was spoken and written on the island, there is little evidence of linguistic interaction: Latin was mostly used by those involved in the provincial administration and in commerce, with the possible addition of the few Sicilians who had frequent contacts with them.⁵³ West Sicily was an area of intensive contacts, and Lilybaeum provided a linguistically varied context in which Greek, Latin and Punic all mixed. However, with the possible exception of the Cotta milestone, none of these texts informs us about the cultural and political climate of this period. The question remains open as to whether the flow of Roman *mercatores* passing through Sicily on their route to Africa – after the destruction of Carthage and the creation of the African

⁵² On the origin of modern Sicilian vocalism, see Fanciullo (1984: 140–50) and Varvaro (1981: 213–15), with important caveats on our perception of the chronology of linguistic phenomena in modern Sicilian.

⁵³ See Varvaro (1981: 37).

province – and the inflow of large numbers of Italian and Iberian mercenaries and slaves contributed to altering the existing sociolinguistic balance of the island (as claimed, for instance, by Giardina (1988–9: 439)): there is almost no evidence of this in contemporary inscriptions from Sicily.

Evidence for Latin and language contact between 100 and 36 BC

Latin inscriptions of this period mostly inform us about the relations of Sicilian cities and individuals with Rome: see, for instance, the inscriptions – published by Scibona (1971) – set up by the city of Halaesa in honour of Caninius Niger and a M. Aemilius, which are reminiscent of the honorific for Dion (?) Lapiron (*IG XIV* 354), or the later decree from Centuripe recording an embassy to Lanuvium (*SEG XXII* 837, c.44 BC).⁵⁴ Other texts reflect historical events: this is the case with the above-mentioned *ILPalermo* 7 and the inscription recording the road works carried out by the praetor Caius Norbanus (*CIL I*² 2951, 89 BC).⁵⁵ Both texts are good examples of the kind of linguistic and epigraphic standardization characterizing official Latin inscriptions. At the risk of over-simplifying matters, it is possible to conclude that this typology of texts offers only limited opportunities for audacious linguistic conjecture: an example is another inscription dated to this period, from Monte Iato, which only bears part of the name *C. Hostl*.⁵⁶ Among official inscriptions in Greek, it is worth mentioning a fragmentary text recently republished by Korhonen (2011b: 22).

This is also the place for a small note on a graffito from Camarina which Wilson (1990: 29) includes among the texts evidencing the penetration of Latin in early Roman Sicily. The first editor, Di Vita (1983: 44), thought that the graffito, on a pot now in the Ragusa archaeological museum, was written in the Latin archaic alphabet with signs of graphemic interference from Greek: he interpreted it as *ollam rapio* ‘I seize the pot’, and read the *p*-shaped first

⁵⁴ For more texts, see Prag (2007b: 255–9).

⁵⁵ New reading in Manganaro (1989: 179).

⁵⁶ See Isler (1990: 55–6) and Bivona (1993–4: 518).

letter of the second word as a Greek *rho*, concluding that ‘mentre l’iscrizione suona latino le lettere sono ancora greche’. Di Vita’s interpretation is followed by Wilson (1990: 29), who deems the graffito an ‘interesting illustration of an attempt to learn Latin’.

The idea of an early Republican unofficial text from a Greek city, written in Latin and showing Greek graphemic influence, is almost too good to be true: for it would represent a crucial ‘missing link’ in the evidence for language and script transmission. Actually, the inscription is not quite as exciting, as Manganaro (1999: 45) explained a few years later. The graffito, entirely in Greek script (and crucially featuring the Sicilian *sigma* that resembles a Latin <L>), is simply a common ownership formula in which the article is omitted before the name of the person’s father: Σ]ώσιος Σαρραπιοδ[ώρου?]. This graffito should thus be permanently deleted from the *corpora* of Latin texts from Sicily.

Among the funerary texts of this period, which are particularly scarce, it will be worth noting the pretty tombstone of an *arator* from Syracuse, still formally unpublished:⁵⁷

Cn. Marci Cn. f. salve.

The degree of standardization of funerary inscriptions, as well as that of dedications, is not surprising. Some of these inscriptions, however, do provide important information for the understanding of the Sicilian bilingualism. A clear example is the dedication to Venus put up by a Cnaeus Octavius in Syracuse (*CIL* I² 2224 = *CIL* X 7121), which is now lost:⁵⁸

GN · OCTAVIO · A · F · MI · NICONOR · BOLONAR
VELIC · VENER · TARIC · PAVIMENTVM · SEDI
LIA · FECIT · AEDEMQUE · REFICIENDO · COIR

Because of the presence of several forms which do not correspond to known Latin words, the text copied by Gualtherus has been considered incorrect and emended in various ways. Mommsen (*CIL* I² 2224) interpreted it as:

⁵⁷ A photo of the inscription is provided by Bivona (2001: 54).

⁵⁸ For the dating see Mommsen *ad CIL* I² 2224 ‘vetustiore probabile sit scriptum esse ante coloniam ab Augusto deductam Syracusae’. Giaggiotti (2002) dates it to the middle of the second century BC. Since the stone is now lost, caution must be exercised when dealing with its text, which is based on a transcription made by Gualtherus.

Cn. Octavi(us) A. f(ilius) Mai(cia?) Nicanor Bononia (?)
public(anus) Vener(ei) Heruc(inai) pavimentum sedi
lia fecit aedemque reficiend(am) coir(avit).

In Mommsen's interpretation the deceased is a man called Nicanor who belonged to the Maecia tribe and came from Bologna (*Bononia*, against the transmitted *Bolonar*). This interpretation is followed by Degraasi in *ILLRP* 279, while in *CIL* I² add. 3, p. 1096 the first line is given as *C(aius) Octavi(us) A(uli) f(ilius) Mai(cia?) Nicanor Bononia(?)*. The text is obviously not satisfactory as it is, particularly since the transmitted *Bolonar*, even if interpreted as a corruption of *Bononia*, still does not fit the syntax of the rest of the sentence. New light comes from another reading, suggested by Giaggiotti (2002):

Gn. Octavio A. f(ilius) mini(ster) coh(oris) bolonar(um)
velic(us) Vener(is) Taric(hinae) pavimentum sedi
lia fecit aedemque reficiend(am) coir(avit).

In Giaggiotti's interpretation, Cn. Octavius, son of Aulus, was a *negotiator* active in the fishing industry. This interpretation rests on the reading of Gualtherus' *bolonar* as the abbreviation of *bolonarum*, genitive plural of the rare noun *bolona* meaning 'a person who buys fish' or 'someone who works in the fish industry',⁵⁹ as well as on the reading of *taric* as the abbreviation of the genitive singular of the epithet *Tarichina* 'she of the saltworks', said of Venus protecting the workers in the fishing industry.⁶⁰

Not only is this reading more satisfactory in terms of meaning, but it also opens interesting perspectives on the presence and activity of Roman *negotiatores* in Syracuse, and on the language that they used.⁶¹ In *bolona* we have the Latin calque of a compound in -ωνης (from ὠνέομαι), a type frequently used in Greek to identify merchants.⁶² Cn. Octavius, the chief (*minister*) and administrator (*velicus*) of the Greek-speaking corporation (*cohors*) of the

⁵⁹ This word is not attested in the *OLD*, but it appears in Arnobius and in glosses: cf. Giaggiotti (2002: 1055) and the *TLL*.

⁶⁰ See Giaggiotti (2002: 1056), comparing τάριχος and τარიχία. Possible parallels for Aphrodite's unattested epithet *Ταριχία are discussed by Giaggiotti (2002: 1058).

⁶¹ For speculations on Cn. Octavius' social status and provenance, see Giaggiotti (2002: 1061–2).

⁶² For more examples see *DEG* s.v. ὠνέομαι.

Syracusan fish-industry, resorts to another calque for Venus' cultic epithet *Tarichia*.

Evidence for Latin and language contact in the period of Augustus' principate

It may be misleading to attribute the increase in the number of epigraphic texts in this period to the new political situation (the state of archaeological research may also come into play), yet it seems that the typology and diffusion of Latin inscriptions after 36 BC substantially changed. The first datum that emerges is the number of inscriptions celebrating the emperor and his family, at least twelve in my count, which mainly come from west Sicily:⁶³ Thermae Himeraeae (*CIL* X 7338 = *ILTermini* 2; *CIL* X 7339 = *ILTermini* 3; *CIL* X 7340 = *ILTermini* 4;), Halaesa (*CIL* X 7459 = *CIL* I² 612), Eryx (*CIL* X 7253–7255 = *CIL* I² 2221–2223), Segesta (*CIL* X 7263), Agrigentum (two inscriptions published by De Miro (1984–5: 464)), Syracuse (one fragmentary dedication in Manganaro (1989: 181)) and Lipara (a dedication to the *Lares Augustei* published by Manganaro (1989: 191)). The documentation from Thermae Himeraeae is also rich in honorifics for veterans turned *coloni* such as Cn. Pollienius (*CIL* X 7349 = *ILTermini* 13; *CIL* X 7350 = *ILTermini* 14), M. Cestius (*CIL* 7348 = *ILTermini* 12) and two other men whose names are lost (*CIL* X 7351 = *ILTermini* 16; *CIL* X 7356 = *ILTermini* 22).⁶⁴ The C. Roscius remembered in the inscription published by Gentili (1961: 22–3) might have been a *proconsul* of the Sicilian province or one of its first senators;⁶⁵ but we know little about the anonymous benefactor who restored an unknown building in Syracuse (Fallico (1971: 634–5)).

These inscriptions testify to the ‘Romanization of form, content and language’ that Lomas (2000: 168) attributes to Sicilian elite epigraphy in this period. As is the norm in Latin official

⁶³ The diffusion of Latin in the western part of the island must also be connected with its continuous contacts with the province of *Africa proconsularis*, as noted by Salmeri (2004: 284).

⁶⁴ On both texts, see Wilson (1990: 38–9). ⁶⁵ See Eck (1996b: 255).

epigraphy, these texts are highly standardized. They bear witness to the expansion of the Roman administration and ruling class on the island, but in terms of linguistics they afford more comments on Latin generally than on bilingualism in Sicily. However, some of the inscriptions dated to this period contain informative cases of linguistic borrowing and morphological interference. Below I also discuss a later text, probably to be dated to the end of the first century AD, featuring intriguing grammatical mistakes which may be attributed to the influence of the writer's first language (neither Greek nor Latin).

Instances of calques are found in an honorific inscription from Agrigentum, as well as in a set of honorifics from Segesta. The Agrigentum text, discovered in the old agora and precisely dated between 2 BC and AD 14, is now read almost entirely thanks to the latest additions by Fiorentini (1996):

[Θ]...Καίσαρα Αὔγουστον φλάμενος Λουκίου Ἐγνάτιου [Λ]ου[κί]ου υἱοῦ γα[μ]...δυῶν δὲ ἀνδρῶν...Σέξτου Ἑ..ατ(ι)ου...Σ[έ]ξ[τ]ο[υ] υἱοῦ Πούφου Λούκιος...Σ Λουκίου υἱὸς[ς]...ὁ...[γυμνασί]αρχος τῶν τε ἐφ[ή]βων καὶ νεώτερων τοὺς ἀν[κ]λιτας τῶν ἰδίων Ἑρμᾶ καὶ Ἡρακλεῖ[ι].⁶⁶

This is the kind of text that linguists are happy to find: it is an official document written in Greek, but celebrating Augustus and his *flamen*, and mentioning the *duumviri* and the gymnasiarch. The city of Agrigentum, which flourished in the Augustan period and was granted the *ius Latii*, continued to use Greek for official purposes, yet the names of those mentioned in the text are all Latin, including that of the gymnasiarch, who is called Lucius. These people are not, therefore, inhabitants of Greek Agrigentum, but either magistrates sent from Rome or recent immigrants. In keeping with the bilingual flavour of the text, this inscription retains the word *flamen*, while the Roman magistracy of the *duumviri* is translated into Greek (here in the gen. δυῶν ἀνδρῶν). While the latter is a case of borrowing through calque (the expression 'two men' is kept, but translated into the corresponding Greek words), the first word is simply borrowed into Greek as it is.

⁶⁶ See too Griffo (1963) and Moretti (1976) for earlier editions.

A small philological mystery surrounds the object of Lucius' dedication to Hermes and Heracles. As the text is inscribed on the seats of the east part of the gymnasium, it is almost certain that Lucius restored the seats themselves at his own expense, as part of the restoration works of the agora.⁶⁷ Yet the word ἀν[κ]λίτος is a *hapax* with a difficult morphology, for which no convincing explanation has been offered so far. The appropriate word would be ἀνάκλισις 'bench, seat', but what we have in the inscription points towards the adjective ἀνάκλιτος 'for reclining'. Even accounting for the missing α, which could be a case of Doric ἀν- for ἀνά, normal in Sicilian Doric (see [Chapter 9](#)), it would seem that the adjective has become a masculine noun here, whereas substantivization yields neuter gender elsewhere (cf. τὰ ἀνκλίτα in Ps. Callisth. 3.22).

Three texts dating from the first century AD discovered in recent excavations at Segesta, which was made a Roman *municipium* in the first century BC, offer more evidence for calques. The first is an inscription published by Nenci ([1995: 1184–5](#)) that commemorates the restoration of a road at the hands of L. Iulius Agrippae:

*L(ucio) Iulio C(aii) f(ilio) Agrippae
euergetae
hic plateam a Sosia
usque ad fanum.*

The inscription is a veritable mine of loanwords: the road is mentioned with the rare term *platea*, clearly deriving from πλατεῖα (cf. *IG XIV 317*, Thermae Himeraeae); the loanword *euergeta* – here in its oldest attestation – is used for the title of benefactor; and the name *Sosias*, too, is a Greek form (vs Latin *Sosius*).⁶⁸ Consani ([2006: 475–6](#)) rightly comments that the author of this text was a primary speaker of Greek who used Latin in a text celebrating a Roman individual, but could not avoid reverting to Greek when possible. This case is not unique, for other examples of calques

⁶⁷ See Fiorentini ([1996: 13](#)).

⁶⁸ See Nenci ([1997: 1193](#)), who suggests dating the inscription to the second half of the first century AD.

can be found in another Segestan dedication, published by Nenci (2000: 811–13).⁶⁹

*L(ucius) Caecilius A(uli) f(ilius) Martiales
Apetaius praefectus
deos forenses reposuit templum-
que eis sua pecunia adornavit.*

The first interesting element is the expression *deos forenses*, clearly a calque of the Greek θεοὶ ἄγοραῖοι; but there is more. Nenci (2000: 812) correctly draws attention to the fact that the *cognomen* of the *praefectus* is doubled, since *Apetaius* is a spelling mistake for *Aretaius*, the Latinized form of Ἀρεταῖος, itself the exact translation of *Martiales* into Greek.⁷⁰ This would suggest that the Roman L. Caecilius Martiales was known as Ἀρεταῖος in Greek-speaking Segesta or that he chose to pay homage to the language of the city by using his Hellenized name on this inscription.

The Greek–Latin bilingualism of Segesta is paralleled by a few instances of digraphism. In this text the inscriber used the Greek letter *rho* instead of the Latin *r* to write the name *Aretaius* ending up with a Latin reading *Apetaius*. His first written language must therefore have been Greek. Something similar happened in the third text of this group:⁷¹

De sua pecunia f(aciendum) c(uravit).

The photograph of the inscription shows that the <E> of *de* was first written as <H> and then corrected. In his first work on the inscription, Nenci (1991: 917) assumed that the strange letter represented a mixture of a traditional <E> and the form with two vertical strokes that features in some archaic Latin inscriptions and is the standard cursive form.⁷² A few years later, however, he changed his mind and interpreted the corrected letter as an *eta*,

⁶⁹ See too Michelini (1999: 441–2). ⁷⁰ See too Consani (2006: 474).

⁷¹ See Nenci (1991) and table CCXCI.

⁷² See Nenci (1991: 917) ‘la *e* presenta una strana fusione fra la forma tradizionale e una forma a due soli tratti verticali. La inesperienza o trascuratezza del lapicida sono evidenti nel non rigoroso allineamento del testo, nel trascurato allineamento degli apici, e nel calcolo errato dello spazio disponibile’. On the cursive <E> with two vertical strokes, see Vine (1992: 345–50).

inscribed by a stone-cutter who was used to writing in Greek.⁷³ It is noteworthy that the inscriber recognized the mistake and corrected it, as it suggests that he underwent proper scribal training: in all likelihood, in his every day speech the letter <H> represented an /i/ sound; but he had learnt that *eta* was to be distinguished from *iota*, and he must also have known that words written with <E> in Latin were to be written with *eta* in Greek when Latin <E> represented an [e:] as is the case here.

When reading these two Segestan texts, we would like to know more about the epigraphic training that Segestan stone-cutters underwent. The second text may look messy compared to the first, although in both cases the letter-forms are well-cut, and clearly Roman; but the engravers have made two mistakes under the influence of Greek, and the engraver of the second text has also used <Q> before /u/. The spelling *pequnia*, with archaic <Q> in place of <C>, remains common in the Augustan period and later, overwhelmingly so in the set-phrase *sua pequnia* / *pequnia sua*. It is likely that the engraver trained using copies of older inscriptions.

A study of the extent of bilingualism – and indeed multilingualism – in early Roman Sicily would not be complete without a mention of the famous bilingual stone-cutter inscription from Palermo, whose dating is disputed:⁷⁴

IG XIV 297 = CIL X 7296

στῆλαι	<i>tituli</i>
ἐνθάδε	<i>heic</i>
τυποῦνται καὶ	<i>ordinantur et</i>
χαράσσονται	<i>sculpuntur</i>
ναοῖς ἱεροῖς	<i>aidibus sacreis</i>
σὺν ἐνεργείαις	<i>qum operum</i>
δημοσίαις	<i>publicorum</i>

⁷³ See Nenci (1995: 1185): ‘il lapicida dopo aver inciso una *eta* la corresse in *epsilon*’. Cf. Nenci (1996: 19).

⁷⁴ For a general discussion of this inscription, see Susini (1968: 17–21), Kruschwitz (2000) and Adams (2003: 429–31). As regards the dating, Kruschwitz (2000: 239 n. 2) suggests the first century AD, while Häusle (1980: 23 n. 58) dates it back to the first century BC. The presence of archaic forms such as *ei* for *ī* and *ai* for *ae* is not in itself an indicator of the antiquity of an inscription, as these traits characterize inscriptions from the last two centuries of the Republican period and over: see Poccetti (1986a: 102).

What is most interesting about this unique inscription is not simply its bilingual character, but the many mistakes that occur in both the Greek and Latin text after the prepositional clause is introduced. In the Greek σύν ἐνεργείαις δημοσίαις, σύν is used as if it were a conjunction (type A καὶ B), while ἐνεργεῖαι is used to mean ‘works’ – that is, in place of ἔργα. In the Latin text *cum* is construed with the genitive, a case which this preposition never governs. These mistakes have rightly puzzled scholars: even if the oddities in the Greek text might be attributed to Latin influence, those in the Latin text suggest that the engraver was not a native speaker of Latin either. After a careful linguistic analysis of these errors, Adams (2003: 429–31) leaves the question of the engraver’s identity open: this appears to be a sounder conclusion than that of Kruschwitz (2000), according to whom the mistakes in both versions of the inscription were made on purpose to attract the attention of potential customers.

In a recent article (Tribulato (2011)), I engage with Kruschwitz’s and Adams’ interpretations in detail, suggesting an alternative reading: that the inscription is the work of a Punic native speaker. The idea that the author of the text was a speaker of neither Greek nor Latin was already shared by the editors of *CIL* X and *IG* XIV.⁷⁵ In much of the subsequent bibliography the author is speculatively identified as a Punic speaker,⁷⁶ but so far this hypothesis has not been validated by any linguistic analysis.

The use of σύν as a conjunction, rather than owing to Latin influence, may reflect Punic usage, given that in Phoenician the preposition ‘*t* ‘together with’ could also be used as a conjunction:⁷⁷ see for instance the phrase ‘RM ‘T ‘SHT in a Punic inscription from Cagliari (Amadasi Guzzo (1990 no. 4)), in which ‘RM is a personal name and ‘SHT ‘wife’ is preceded by ‘T (*het*), interpretable both as ‘together with’ and ‘and’. The semantic ambiguity of ‘T could lead Punic speakers to exchange ‘with’ and ‘and’ in their second

⁷⁵ Cf. Kaibel *ad IG* XIV 297: ‘marmorarius nec Graecus opinor nec Romanus homo cum ab utriusque linguae peritis intellegi cuperet neutris satisfecit’; and Mommsen *ad CIL* X 7296: ‘marmorarius hic utriusque linguae infantiam prae se fert’.

⁷⁶ See Susini (1968: 18), Bivona *ad ILPalermo* no. 74, Manni Piraino (1973: 181) and Alföldy (1989: 175).

⁷⁷ Krahmalkov (2001: 271).

language. Parallel evidence for this usage comes from the *Septuagint*, in which phrases such as Ios. 6.24 καὶ ἡ πόλις ἐνεπρήσθη ἐμπυρισμῷ σὺν πᾶσιν τοῖς ἐν αὐτῇ ‘and the city and/with everything within it was burned with fire’ can be explained assuming influence from the Hebrew conjunction *w^e* (ו), whose meaning oscillates between ‘and’ and ‘with’.⁷⁸

As concerns the government mistake in the Latin version of the inscription (*cum operum publicorum*), this too is best explained through the influence of a language devoid of inflection, such as Punic. Independent evidence from ancient bilingual contexts shows that second-language learners of Latin and Greek could achieve a high degree of literacy without always having perfect control over government and case selection. The ostraka from Bu Njem in Tripolitania, studied in detail by Adams (1994), show frequent instances of nominatives selected as the default case: e.g. *per kamellarius* or *ferentes . . . muli* (where *muli* is the object of *ferentes*). Similarly, in the Punic–Latin bilingual inscription from El Amrouni in Libya, dated to the second or early third century AD (KAI 117), all the Latin names reflect the Latin vocative rather than the nominative (or the case in which they are inflected in the Latin version).⁷⁹ A parallel example for government mistakes in Greek is the famous second-century BC *tessera hospitalis* of Imilch from Lilybaeum (IG XIV 279), written in Greek by a Punic speaker. Here the nominative Λύσων and the genitive τῶν ἐγγόνων are governed by the preposition πρὸς.⁸⁰ In the Palermo *bilinguis*, the choice of the genitive *operum publicorum* was no doubt encouraged by the frequency of the set-phrase *curator operum publicorum*, as already suggested by Susini (1968: 18). However, only a speaker of a language devoid of inflections would not have minded the discrepancy with the preceding *aidibus sacreis*.

This striking stele – in my view the work of a speaker of Punic, Greek and Latin – is a perfect expression of the remarkable

⁷⁸ See Tribulato (2011: 135–6) for a more detailed study of such usages of σὺν.

⁷⁹ Cf. Adams (2003: 218): ‘the vocative is the form of a name most commonly heard, and if a Latin name were picked up by Punic speakers from Latin speech rather than written texts, it is that form which might well have been borrowed’. For the text, see Ferchiou (1989).

⁸⁰ See Masson (1976: 94).

sociolinguistic *milieu* of Palermo at the dawn of the Common Era. The city's Punic community, which has left evidence for preceding centuries,⁸¹ no doubt continued to thrive under the Romans. In Augustan times the possible institution of a *colonia* in Palermo would have made the existence of good epigraphic workshops a pressing necessity: we should not rule out the possibility that our signpost, with its clear bilingual character, was produced exactly in the momentous years in which Palermo's Romanization began in earnest.⁸²

Conclusions

In this concluding section I attempt to highlight some themes discussed in the chapter, to emphasize a few issues which require further investigation, and to offer some further comments about the nature of Greek–Latin linguistic interaction in early Roman Sicily.

The nature of linguistic contact

Linguistic contact between the Greek and Latin communities in early Roman Sicily must have been intense and continuous. How well these two communities understood each other – at different social levels – is a matter open to speculation. In the *Verrines* Cicero tells us that Verres employed interpreters and relates that many institutions were still distinctly Greek in the first half of the first century BC. Inscriptions are less explicit. It is not until after 44 BC that Latin official and private epigraphy becomes more pervasive on the island.

If, speculatively, an increase in numbers of inscriptions can be taken as evidence of an increase in the number of Latin speakers,

⁸¹ See texts collected in Garbini (1965: 205–10), Guzzo Amadasi (1967: 53–5 no. 1), Coacci Polsellì (1980–1: 473) and Amadasi Guzzo (1990: 92–4 nos. 34–6). For the Punic and Neo-Punic graffiti from the Grotta Regina cave, outside Palermo, see Coacci Polsellì, Amadasi Guzzo and Tusa (1979: 106), and Chapter 3 of this volume. See further Tribulato (2011: 134).

⁸² For the Augustan *colonia* at Palermo, see Wilson (1990: 37). For the epigraphic material from Roman Palermo, see Bivona (1987).

it tells us relatively little about the extent of the use of Latin, and its interaction with Greek. Both R. J. Wilson and K. Lomas have drawn attention to the fact that the whole period must be viewed with a nuanced perspective. On the one hand, it is generally true that by the end of the first century BC elite epigraphy tends to be in Latin, while non-elite epigraphy tends to be in Greek. On the other hand, the (sociolinguistic) interaction between elite and non-elite epigraphy must also be studied in terms of textual typology. Funerary inscriptions may be ranked as ‘elite’ texts just like honorifics, depending on the person who is commemorated on the inscription. Yet, while honorifics become increasingly Romanized, funerary inscriptions somehow preserve a greater degree of independence and may be in Greek, as well as in Latin.⁸³ Korhonen (2011b: 21) points out that ‘Greek linguistic identity remained significant throughout the early colonial period’, with a preference for ‘epigraphic contexts that referred to religion, the spectacle and the past’ as well as funerary inscriptions, but Latin becomes common in official inscriptions of an administrative nature.

It would seem that both textual typology and destination influence language choice, yet at the same time the picture is complicated by the fact that different patterns emerge from the geographical and chronological distribution of texts. By and large, west Sicily accepted Latin more readily in the period under consideration: see, for instance, the number of Latin honorary inscriptions mentioned in my discussion above and Korhonen (2011b) *passim* on *Thermae* and Palermo.

There is also some evidence that this area was not merely bilingual, but possibly trilingual. Wilson (1990: 316) remarks that since the latest Punic inscriptions from Sicily belong to the first century BC one must trust Apuleius *Met.* 11.5.22 and common sense and think that Punic did not immediately vanish in this part of the island.⁸⁴ If my interpretation of the bilingual stone-cutter inscription is correct, we would have indirect evidence of Punic speakers in Palermo around the first century AD. Earlier traces of the Punic community of Sicily are found not only in Punic inscriptions, but

⁸³ Lomas (2000: 169).

⁸⁴ For a similar conclusion, see Korhonen (2011b: 20) and Chapter 12 of this volume.

also in Greek texts. I have considered the remarkable case of two *defixiones* from Lilybaeum, in which names in different languages and different scripts are mixed, revealing not only that Greek and Latin speakers were interacting to some degree, but also that speakers of other languages had a role to play. As concerns east Sicily, the general trend suggests that Greek was still widely used, particularly at Syracuse, Catania and Tauromenium, although Lomas (2000: 168) draws attention to the different situation at Messina, which shows a higher proportion of Latin texts because of its long-standing contacts with the continent.

This varied picture becomes even more multi-faceted when we consider the traces of linguistic contact and code-switching that crop up in many of the texts from this period, regardless of their destination and typology. We have seen some cases of graphic interference in inscriptions from Segesta, which remained largely Greek until the end of the first century BC: it is hardly surprising, therefore, that the influence is always unidirectional, with Greek script influencing Latin script, and not vice versa. In contrast, cases of borrowing and calque are not always unidirectional (i.e. Greek → Latin): alongside forms such as *euergeta*, *platea*, *bolona* (all instances of borrowing), and *Aretaius* and *deos forenses* (calques), we also find the loanword φλαμήν and the calque δὺο ἄνδρες used to translate *duumviri*.⁸⁵

Such examples point to a situation in which the two languages each had prestige and exerted mutual influence.⁸⁶ However, the Greek calques from Latin are clearly limited to the sphere of public life and administration, while those from Greek reflect a more varied interaction. We may speculate on whether borrowing from Latin was not in fact passive rather than active. This is a distinction made by Prosdocimi (1978a: 1084 n. 1) to differentiate between the borrowing of words for which the receiving language already has an expression (and which is thus not induced), and

⁸⁵ Other loanwords are the verb δεκυρεύω, coined from *decurio*, which Korhonen (2011b: 22) restores for the fragmentary]κυρευ[on a fragment published by Orsi and now in Ferrua and Carletti (1989: no. 124); and the adjective κικλήσιοι in a fragment of inscription from Syracuse discussed by Korhonen (2011b: 9).

⁸⁶ For a possibly different situation in other bilingual areas of ancient Italy, see Lazzeroni (1972).

passive or induced borrowing, which obeys extra-linguistic needs, such as that of naming magistracies inherited from the new culture. According to Prosdocimi, it is only the first kind of borrowing that is a sign of bilingualism. The conclusion in our case would be that while the Romans were bilingual in both languages, the Greeks of Sicily were not. More and better data is nevertheless required to support this interpretation.

Only one of the texts that have been examined in this chapter can be considered truly bilingual: the advertisement of the stone-cutter's workshop. While we lack a full corpus of Greek–Latin bilinguals for this period, the presence of one in Palermo perhaps ought to be stressed more strongly, particularly as the inscription is an advertisement: a text intended to be read by a multitude of passers-by.⁸⁷

*Bilingualism in Imperial Sicily and the controversy
over its nature*

Greek–Latin bilingualism in Imperial Sicily can be evaluated more clearly since more texts survive,⁸⁸ though few of these are mixed-language texts (e.g. *CIL* X 7125 = *IG* XIV, *CIL* X 7240). In this period, the balance between Greek and Latin inscriptions also changes as there are more Latin inscriptions. We can only speculate whether the predominance of either language follows a geographical or chronological distribution.⁸⁹ Herein lies the crux of the problem: given the lack of uncontroversial statistics – which in the case of Sicilian epigraphy would most likely be blighted by the limited finding and publication of material anyway – scholars have selected the evidence to argue for two contrasting views of the linguistic situation of Roman Sicily.

⁸⁷ On the number of bilingual texts, see Adams (2003: 30–1). Other Sicilian bilingual inscriptions are discussed by Wilson (1990: 314–20).

⁸⁸ Only in Agnello (1953) are there more than a thousand texts. See too Parlangeli (1959: 68). The situation with inscriptions is in contrast to that of sources for historical events, which are extremely scarce for the Imperial period: see Asheri (1982–3: 461).

⁸⁹ A useful line of investigation would be to see whether the onomastic evidence reveals any radical changes in the population: see e.g. Korhonen (2002: 75) for Syracuse; a similar approach is adopted by Leiwo (1995) for Naples.

The traditional view is that Greek continued to be spoken in the big coastal cities where business and administration took place, while Latin was relegated to the status of countryside language.⁹⁰ In several works G. Manganaro has challenged this received interpretation by formulating an opposite but equally polarized claim: that Latin was spoken in the main cities as the administrative language, while Greek never ceased to be used in the countryside.⁹¹ Asheri (1982–3: 465) occupies a middle ground in arguing that the leading classes were largely bilingual in this period.

In recent years, attention has turned to textual typology, in an attempt to view the matter from a more nuanced perspective. By comparison to their colleagues thirty or twenty years ago, scholars nowadays have better corpora and better tentative statistics at their disposal, enabling them to gain a clearer picture of the process of acculturation. Thus the figures in Prag (2002: 23) suggest a flux: Greek is the most prominent language up to the end of the first century BC and then again from the third century AD onwards; Latin is the most common language in inscriptions dated from the end of the first century BC to the beginning of the third century AD. These figures, preliminary as they might be, put both views discussed above into question: that they may suffer from a degree of simplification is argued by Lomas (2000), Prag (2002) and Salmeri (2004), who all draw attention to the cultural and political implications behind the resurgence of Greek in the late Empire. As Lomas remarks, ‘these manifestations of Hellenism coexist with Roman features. Their apparent disappearance and reappearance are actually the result of a change of emphasis in what is promoted, and in some cases the accident of survival of the particular categories of epigraphic evidence in which they are attested’ (2000: 169).⁹² Language choice, therefore, largely partakes of ‘epigraphic culture’ and cannot be viewed simply as proof of the writer’s (or commissioner’s) language affiliation or linguistic abilities.

With this new sensitivity towards language and epigraphy, scholars such as Prag (2002: 29–30) and Consani (2006: 469) have

⁹⁰ See Mazzarino (1956), Parlangeli (1959), Finley (1979: 134), Varvaro (1981: 116–17).

⁹¹ Manganaro (1958–9, 1988: 48–50, 1993: 543–7).

⁹² See further Lomas (1993: 181–5) on the reasons behind the emphasis on Hellenism in Magna Graecia.

emphasized the need to gain a better understanding of the unique epigraphic culture that Sicily produced. In view of this aim, K. Lomas (2000), as we have seen, has advanced a sociolinguistic interpretation based on the distinction between elite and non-elite epigraphy. Korhonen (2011b) has instead extensively worked on the sub-corpus of funerary inscriptions and highlighted the special trends affecting it. Lomas' and Korhonen's studies both stress the fluidity of linguistic and cultural contacts between Greek and Latin, rejecting the earlier watertight distinction drawn on the basis of geographical and chronological factors. Korhonen's recent analysis of Imperial inscriptions from Catania has shown that the automatic correlation between geographical areas and language, or between social classes and linguistic choice, is to be rejected: while public inscriptions are overwhelmingly in Latin, 38 per cent of the pagan epitaphs and 71 per cent of the Christian ones are in Greek.⁹³ At Syracuse Greek seems to have remained predominant over Latin throughout the Imperial period.⁹⁴

The interaction between Greek and Latin in Sicily is a story comprised of many chapters. What perspective one chooses to adopt concerning the persistence of Latin or its disappearance in the late Empire also has important implications for the history of late Latin and its evolution into a Romance dialect in the island: Rohlf's well-known theory that the modern Sicilian dialect was born of a re-Romanization of the island rests on the presupposition that Greek had continued to be spoken in most of ancient Sicily without interruptions.⁹⁵ Arguments such as these, and the statistics on which they rely, are destined to remain little more than hypotheses, until a comprehensive list of all epigraphic texts from ancient Sicily is assembled. Besides, as I have already argued, following Lomas (2000), the interaction between language choice and epigraphic typology should not be overlooked. Official inscriptions and funerary texts differ from each other insofar as they respond to different communication purposes; yet, they both obey strict rules from which more private kinds of inscriptions (such as *defixiones*,

⁹³ Korhonen (2004: 239; 243).

⁹⁴ Korhonen (2002), Salmeri (2004: 283).

⁹⁵ See Rohlf (1972), and the overviews in Melazzo (1984: 37–9) and Prag (2002).

graffiti, ownership formulae, etc.) are exempt.⁹⁶ Once statistics are drawn up, that is, texts must be differentiated according to typology.⁹⁷

⁹⁶ In the case of inscriptions from the late Empire the question also concerns whether they were placed inside or outside tombs: this of course has a consequence on the linguistic choices and communication strategies selected.

⁹⁷ This is clearly summarized by Varvaro (1981: 44): 'Ma quel che più conta è che tutte queste cifre comprimono in una sorta di pancronia testimonianze di alcuni secoli e quindi non permettono che osservazioni, peraltro assai generiche, sulla lunga durata, senza possibilità di individuare un *trend* qualsiasi in modo soddisfacente. Inoltre bisognerebbe fare un'accurata distinzione tra iscrizioni pubbliche e iscrizioni private e tenere nel dovuto conto il carattere rituale della pratica delle iscrizioni, che non coinvolge solo la stesura formulistica ma anche la scelta della lingua, scelta che è di solito fortemente conservatrice.' For a hint of what methodology one could adopt see Leiwo (1995), who analyses the linguistic situation in Roman Naples with an eye to the typology of epigraphic texts.

CHAPTER 12

SICILY IN THE ROMAN IMPERIAL PERIOD

Language and society

Kalle Korhonen

Introduction

Roman Sicily could have been the ideal environment for the research of Greco-Roman bilingualism in practice, had the evidence survived better. But because the epigraphic evidence is much less abundant than in other areas, and the papyri have mostly perished, the scholars have been forced to discuss the same items over and over again. The purpose of this chapter is to analyse the sociolinguistics of Sicily in the Roman Imperial period, that is, the use of languages in their social context. I shall combine the results achieved by previous scholars with new analyses.¹ The discussion covers the period from Augustus until AD 535.² Most of the evidence concerns Greek and Latin; other language communities were also present, but they are badly represented in our sources. Whereas [Chapters 3](#) and [4](#) focused on Punic and Oscan, some other languages will be discussed in the concluding section of this chapter.

Languages diffuse essentially in two ways: when speakers of a language inhabit new areas, and when a language is adopted by the speakers of another language, which is either maintained or abandoned. In the discussion, I shall first look at the sociolinguistic

¹ My debt to previous scholars, notably Varvaro (1981) and Wilson (1990) is considerable; the reader should also consult [Chapter 11](#) of this book, as well as Korhonen (2011b). I wish to thank Mika Kajava, Pádraic Moran, Giovanni Salmeri and Olli Salomies for their comments, and in particular Olga Tribulato for the opportunity to participate in this volume.

² I do not follow the official confines of the *provincia Sicilia*, but omit Malta, Gozo, the Pelagian islands and Pantelleria from this discussion because sociolinguistically they belonged to Roman Africa.

significance of economy and demography. The second part will deal with languages in political and military life and social order. The focus of the third part will be Greek and Latin in culture and religion.³ In the concluding section I shall try to locate Roman Sicily in the context of multilingual societies.

Economy, demography and language

Economy and demography

During the Imperial period, until the fourth century AD, Sicilian economy was characterized by relative stability or stagnation. Recent scholars, most notably Wilson (1990: 174–88), have emphasized the distinction between, on the one hand, flourishing coastal towns and villages of the interior and, on the other, towns of the interior in decline. The principal export product of Sicily was grain throughout the period, but its importance for the Empire varied. By the early Imperial period, Africa and Egypt had taken over the role of Sicily as the principal granary of Rome. The conflicts of the second half of the first century BC had contributed to a decline in production across the island. However, difficulties in procuring grain from Egypt could still occasionally increase the importance of the Sicilian production.⁴ An economically important but geographically limited phenomenon was the production of sulphur in Agrigento, the only supplier in the western Mediterranean, which evidently took place from the second until the fourth century.⁵

In Late Antiquity, grain was involved in probably the most significant economic development of Imperial times in Sicily. After the foundation of Constantinople, the grain surplus of Egypt began to be transported there instead of Rome. The event had important consequences for the Sicilian economy, which evidently enjoyed a period of growth.⁶ The importance of Sicilian grain

³ In the arrangement, I have been inspired by Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg (2003: Table 3.1).

⁴ Scramuzza (1937: 349–50), Salmeri (1986: 410–11), Wilson (1990: 33–4, 189–91).

⁵ Scramuzza (1937: 353–4), Wilson (1990: 238–9), Salmeri (1992: 29–43); for the full documentary evidence of the production, see De Miro (1982–3: 319–26). The production was restarted in the Middle Ages.

⁶ See Cracco Ruggini (1997–8: 244–51), Vera (1997–8).

for Rome and Italy increased further after the Vandals captured Carthage in AD 439.⁷ Although the population of the former capital decreased in the fifth and sixth centuries, other areas, such as Gaul, also imported grain; Sicily's exports continued in the Byzantine period.⁸ On the other hand, the separation of Africa from the Italian sphere of power caused economic difficulties,⁹ which must have affected the Sicilian ports. In all, the countryside was thriving and the coastal towns seem to have declined, with the exception of the most important ports, Syracuse, Catania and Marsala.¹⁰

Wilson's summary estimate of the island's population around the second century AD, based on archaeological evidence, is 'more than half a million, perhaps around 600,000 people'.¹¹ The total area, without the small islands, is approximately 25,500 sq. km; Wilson's estimate gives a population density of about twenty-three inhabitants per square km. There is considerable disagreement on population figures in Antiquity,¹² but it may be of some relevance that the figures suggested for the medieval population of Sicily are fairly similar. For the late thirteenth century, with more reliable demographic evidence, in particular fiscal returns, Epstein (1992: 36–59) has estimated a population of approximately 850,000 inhabitants.¹³

Of the cities, Syracuse was the most populous in the Roman period. It is generally assumed that Sicily was less urbanized than central Italy; for Wilson (1990: 171), the degree of urbanization may have been around 20 per cent, which would mean a little more than 100,000 city dwellers in all. For Syracuse in the second century AD, he estimated a population of 28,000 on the basis of the

⁷ Wilson (1990: 330–6), Vera (1997–8: 72).

⁸ The population of Rome: Durlauf (1998: 100); grain exports to Gaul: Cassiod. *Var.* 4.7. On the role of Sicily in nourishing Constantinople in the Byzantine period, see Prigent (2006).

⁹ See Halsall (2007: 330) on the decline in the exports of African pottery to Italy.

¹⁰ Wilson (1990: 330–7); on the ports, see also Uggeri (2008).

¹¹ Wilson (1990: 171 with n. 80 on p. 382). For some earlier estimates, see Beloch (1886: 261–301).

¹² The dispute is between 'low-counters' (e.g. de Ligt (2007)), who estimate for continental Italy in Augustan times roughly 4 million free inhabitants, and 'high-counters' (e.g. Kron (2005)), for whom the free and unfree population numbered around 15 million. See also Scheidel (2001b).

¹³ The most recent official figure for the population of Sicily is 5.04 million (late 2008), with a population density of c.196 inhabitants per sq. km.

size of the inhabited area, and for Catania, 13,000.¹⁴ For the sake of comparison, I point out that in the late thirteenth century the largest cities were Palermo, with 50,000 inhabitants, and Messina, with 30,000 inhabitants, according to Epstein (1992: 53).

A difficult problem is the regional distribution of the population. Strabo's claim (6.2.5), that in his times all the southern coast from Pachino to Marsala had been abandoned, and only Agrigento, Marsala and some traces of the former colonies remained, is not supported by archaeological evidence, at least from the area between Marsala and Agrigento.¹⁵ If there were abandoned areas suitable for cultivation, some were probably repopulated when the grain production grew in the fourth century.

The most important phenomenon of demographic change in Sicily during our period was migration, 'a constant in European history', as Halsall (2007: 451) has put it. It was also the most relevant of the demographic factors that influenced the sociolinguistic situation. Migration can be forced (colonization, expulsion, refugees) or economically or occupationally motivated. The borders between the concepts are often unclear, because colonization can be connected with economical incentives. Measuring the different forms of migration quantitatively is notoriously difficult.¹⁶ However, for the purposes of sociolinguistic analysis, quantity is not all that counts: it is also important to know who was moving. It seems that the other demographic events – earthquakes, eruptions and epidemics – did not influence any language community in a particularly dramatic fashion. It is usually assumed that such events were far less devastating than the earthquakes that have destroyed many eastern Sicilian cities in modern times or the bubonic plague of the fourteenth century, during which Sicily lost some 60 per cent of its population.¹⁷ Finally, there is no reason

¹⁴ Asheri's estimates (1982–3: 462–70) for Catania and Syracuse, based on the amphitheatres' sizes, are less convincing. For the classical and Hellenistic periods, Beloch (1886: 281), who did not use the archaeological evidence, estimated that the population of Syracuse ranged between 100,000 (fifth century) and 200,000 (fourth century).

¹⁵ See Wilson (1990: 194–5) and Chapter 11 in this book. ¹⁶ Scheidel (2001b: 46–8).

¹⁷ Destructive earthquakes, which affected at least Tindari and Catania, are attested especially in the fourth century: see Giardina (1987: 240–4), Wilson (1990: 185–8), Guidoboni (1989b) and Giarrizzo (1997). Sicily evidently avoided the bubonic plague in Antiquity; see Cracco Ruggini (1997–8: 266–8).

to assume notably different population growth rates for different linguistic communities in this period.

All the languages discussed in this chapter entered the island as immigrant minority languages. Our knowledge of immigration is based on sporadic historical information about larger migratory movements and on epigraphy and archaeology. In the absence of census returns or similar documents, we can use different criteria to try to identify individuals who had migrated to or from Sicily:

- (1) explicit indications of provenance in documents or literature
- (2) proper names
- (3) linguistic expressions
- (4) language choice in written material
- (5) archaeological evidence: cultural characteristics that refer to a certain area or group.

It must be kept in mind of course that only (1) is a certain indication of the movement of an individual; in the case of the other criteria, it is possible that only the *custom* had migrated. Exact distinctions between the movements of persons and the diffusion of cultural phenomena are in the end not crucial, because the criteria throw light in any case on the directions of language-related cultural contacts. The criteria listed above are of course relevant only for a part of the surviving evidence; there were always newcomers who accommodated to the local traditions, or whose names are undistinctive to us. As regards Latin or Greek, criterion (5) can rarely be used in our case; it is more relevant for smaller immigrant communities. In order to establish the influence of migration on the sociolinguistic situation, one must also try to evaluate the balance between emigration and immigration; this will be done in the following sections.

In the following discussion, the Roman Imperial period will be discussed in two chronological parts. The lower limit of the early Empire is the accession of Diocletian in AD 284.

Demography, Greek and Latin in the early Imperial period

There is no historiographical information of an important migratory movement of Greek speakers to or from Sicily in the early Imperial period. Our knowledge is essentially based on epigraphic

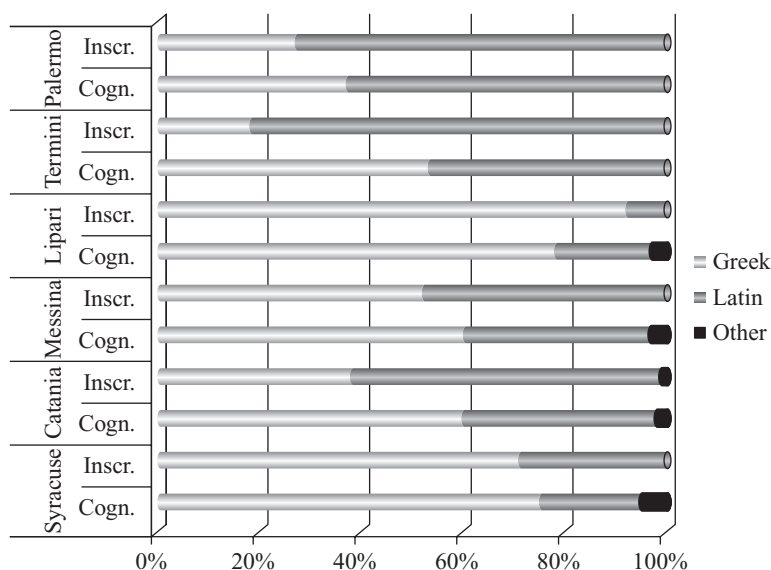


Figure 12.1 The relative proportions of Latin and Greek in pagan epitaphs and cognomina from six Sicilian cities

evidence and concerns individuals or families.¹⁸ To start with, I present summarily the relative proportions of Latin and Greek in pagan epitaphs and *cognomina* (or single names) in six Sicilian towns: Syracuse, Catania, Messina, Lipari, Termini and Palermo (Figure 12.1). The relative proportion of Greek inscriptions is highest in Lipari (92 per cent) and Syracuse (70 per cent) and lowest in Termini (18 per cent) and Palermo (27 per cent).¹⁹ The same is true of Greek *cognomina*, although the differences are less dramatic. The statistics illustrate the point often made that there is more evidence of the use of Greek in the east and more evidence of Latin in the west.

There seems to be an interesting difference as regards the immigration of Greek speakers between the Republican and Imperial

¹⁸ The most reliable list is by Wilson (1990: 328–9) (more recently e.g. De Salvo (1997–8: 90–5)); see also Korhonen (2011b: 29 n. 107).

¹⁹ The total numbers of inscriptions and *cognomina* respectively are as follows: Syracuse: 201 and 127; Catania: 223 and 240; Messina: 75 and 70; Lipari: 351 and 293; Termini: 195 and 187; Palermo: 49 and 70. Note also the difficulties concerning the epigraphic evidence from Palermo: see Korhonen (2011b: 14 with n. 110).

periods: whereas in the late Republic many speakers of Greek and other languages of the eastern Mediterranean had been brought into Sicily through the slave trade, immigration of easterners in Imperial times involved persons of a higher social standing. While the slave trade was evidently much less intense than during the Republican period,²⁰ among the procurators and other officials whose careers brought them to Sicily there are many persons from areas where Greek was a dominant language. Their areas of provenance include Egypt (Alexandria), Cilicia (Tarsus) or Palestine (Gadara), Ionia (Ephesus) and Mysia (Pergamum).²¹ Such officials may of course have left Sicily after their term was over.

The presence of traders and other professionals who had moved to Sicily is a relevant factor for the Greek speech community. Rougé (1966: 295–319) argued that in the early Imperial period traders were more likely to originate from the exporting than from the importing areas.²² The epigraphic material confirms the existence of at least small ‘trader colonies’ in Sicilian harbour towns. A piece of evidence that probably has to do with trade relations in the late Republican or early Imperial period is the fragmentary dedication by the Syrian city of Laodicea recently published from Catania.²³ Trading or some other professional activity is also the probable context of newcomers whose origin is explicitly indicated in pagan Greek inscriptions. The following regions are mentioned: Cappadocia, Crete, Cyprus (Paphus), Egypt, Lycia, Macedonia, Mysia (Cyzicus), the Peloponnese (Corinth), Rhodes and Syria (Antioch and Apamea).²⁴ Furthermore, the epitaph of a newcomer from Rome who died in Messina is in Greek (*IG* XIV 413). Once in Sicily, the immigrants used either Greek or Latin in their epigraphic out-group communication.

²⁰ For the Republic, see Beloch (1886: 300), Scramuzza (1937: 243–5, 334–6) and Varvaro (1981: 35–6).

²¹ Wilson (1990: 329).

²² Rougé’s analysis seems on the whole convincing, even though it is partly based on the erroneous assumption that a Greek *cognomen* indicates eastern origin, and a Latin one does not.

²³ *IMCCatania* 27, cf. Kajava (2005–6) (*SEG* LIV 897).

²⁴ I add the following evidence to Wilson’s list: Macedonia: *IMCCatania* 88 (Catania), Rhodes: *IGLLipari* 387 (Lipari).

As regards emigration, it is known that some people had left Sicily as refugees during the Republic; there is little information on emigration from Sicily in the Imperial times.²⁵ Few (certain) epitaphs of Sicilians outside Sicily have been found. Latin epitaphs have surfaced in Rome and in Narbonese Gaul (Antibes).²⁶ To the minimal epigraphic evidence of Greek used by Sicilians outside Sicily, one should add the previously unpublished epitaph of a *Klodios Soter* from Palermo, discovered in Velletri (ancient Velitrae) in the vicinity of Rome.²⁷ The text is interesting not only because it was found in the countryside of Latium, but also because very few Greek inscriptions have been found in Palermo itself with certainty. Latin dominates both in the funerary inscriptions and in the personal names attested in the city.²⁸ In Velletri, two bilingual inscriptions commemorate individuals in high positions,²⁹ but the new document is the only surviving unilingual epitaph in Greek. On the other hand, the epitaph allows no wider conclusions: the city of Rome and its vicinity attracted newcomers from all parts of the Roman world. On the whole, as regards the speakers of Greek, emigration and immigration may have been in balance in the early Imperial times, or emigration slightly stronger because of a certain economic decline.

On the Latin side, it is well known that a large-scale migratory movement of Latin speakers into Sicily took place. The Augustan colonization was undoubtedly the most important demographic event to increase the significance of the Latin community in the period discussed here. Five or six veteran colonies were founded: Syracuse, Catania, Taormina, Termini Imerese, Tindari and possibly Palermo, and several thousands of veteran families

²⁵ For the Republic, see Scramuzza (1937: 341–2); his account of emigration in the Imperial period (p. 371) includes almost exclusively literary figures.

²⁶ *CIL* VI 2351 (*Siculus Syracusanus*) and 20105 (= *IMCCatania* 297, *Siculus Agrigentinus*); *CIL* XII 178 = *ILN* 2A 17 (*domo Catina ex provincia Sicilia*).

²⁷ Θ(εοῖς) Χ(θονίοις). / Κλωδῖος / Σωτήρ / ἔζ(ησεν) ἔτ(η) / ιθ' +++ / [-?] Πανορμί/της. The measures of the marble inscription, kept in the Museo Comunale di Velletri (inv. no. 313), are 17 × 24 × 2.4 cm. It will be published by the present author in 'Velitrae', *CIL* X, 2nd edition (I thank the principal editor, Heikki Solin, for permission to discuss the text here). It is not known where the inscription was found, but its recent appearance in the city museum makes it likely that it comes from the vicinity.

²⁸ See Korhonen (2011b: 14) and above, n.19.

²⁹ *CIL* X 6569 and *Suppl. It.* II 'Velitrae' no. 7.

arrived within a short period of time. In Taormina, the colonization was combined with the expulsion of the former inhabitants (D.S. 16.7.1).³⁰ Vespasian apparently settled further veterans and freedmen in Palermo and Segesta.³¹ The majority of the veterans were probably Latin speakers, but there may have been men of eastern origin among them, and thus the possible presence of (at least) Greek cannot be excluded. We know little about the provenance of the colonists.³² For some *gentes* of Termini Imerese, Bivona (1994: 77–83, 93–5) has suggested a connection with northern Italy, but the evidence is not very decisive. Some such families could belong to the Augustan colonists.

The persons exiled from Italy to Sicily or its surrounding islands represent a quantitatively much less significant form of forced immigration of Latin speakers. This phenomenon is especially well known from the literary sources because the refugees mostly belonged to the Roman political and/or literary elite.³³ They may have been influential in their places of exile.

The position of Latin was also enhanced by the Latin speakers who came to Sicily for economic and occupational reasons. It seems that this kind of movement was quantitatively at its most significant in the earliest Imperial period and again in Late Antiquity. One should mention here two groups in particular:

- (1) landowners who acquired land in Sicily
- (2) traders and other craftsmen who practised their profession in Sicily.

The group of immigrants from Italy who acquired land in Sicily in the late Republic is estimated to have been small but influential.³⁴ The period is characterized by the slow formation of

³⁰ It is under dispute how total the expulsion was; see Korhonen (2011b: 8 with n. 14).

³¹ *Lib. col.* 211.12–18. On Segesta, the source is not very clear (*item Segestanorum ut supra, vel ad Leucopetram*) because Leucopetra is on the coast of Bruttium/Calabria; in any case, Segesta in Sicily must be meant. See Salmeri (1986: 408), Wilson (1990: 43 with n. 97), Campbell (2000: 405), Brunet, Conso, Gonzales, Guard, Guillaumin and Sensal (2008: 23).

³² In preparing the article Korhonen (2011b), I analysed the situation in Catania and Syracuse, but could not arrive at satisfactory conclusions regarding the colonists: the *gentilicia* are common and not limited to certain areas of Italy.

³³ See Scramuzza (1937: 370), Cracco Ruggini (1980: 486 with n. 19).

³⁴ Varvaro (1981: 36–8, 42–3), Wilson (1990: 44–5). A notable part of the Italian rural population moved to towns or to the provinces during the first century BC: see Hopkins (1978: 64–70).

large estates (*latifundia*), which during the Imperial period became an essential element of the arable Sicilian countryside. Especially from the first century AD onwards, it is likely that Sicilian estates were also acquired by the African well-to-do, although our evidence is limited.³⁵

Different estimates have been given of the significance of Latin-speaking landowners as an element of Latinization. Whereas Mazzarino (1956: 508) considered their contribution to have been important, Manganaro (1993: 543–7, 577–8) has claimed that the countryside remained Greek-speaking on the basis of the epigraphic evidence. To settle the issue, Varvaro (1981: 65–7) discussed the place names of Sicily mentioned in the so-called *Itinerarium provinciarum Antonini Augusti*, the Ravenna papyri (fifth century AD), the letters of Pope Gregory (AD 590–604) and epigraphic sources. Wilson added to the evidence the tile stamps of Sicilian origin, which mostly record names of landowners.³⁶ The names are of different types: (1) toponyms that antedate the Roman period; (2) names of estates given after their erstwhile owners; (3) names that have another explanation. Varvaro found that Latin was very much present in the names in groups (2) and (3). Admittedly the sources are almost exclusively in Latin – if the places had different names in Greek, those forms remain unknown. The majority of the names of Sicilian *massae*, *fundi* and *stationes* were Latin names in *-ianus/-a/-um*; some may well be from the late Republic or early Empire. Varvaro (1981: 49, 67) concluded: ‘it is not possible to accept *in toto* the hypothesis that the names were only the outer covering of an essentially non-Latin society’, and that ‘in the countryside, the Latin language was largely present, if not dominant’ (my translations).³⁷ Even if the last formulation seems quite strong, it is certainly unlikely that such Latin toponyms could have survived for centuries if the environment had had a strongly Greek linguistic character.

³⁵ See Wilson (1990: 326), cf. Varvaro (1981: 54).

³⁶ See Wilson (1990: 216–17). The names can hardly refer to the estate managers (so Manganaro (1988: 32)).

³⁷ ‘non è possibile accettare *in toto* l’ipotesi che si tratti di una copertura esteriore di una società intrinsecamente non latina . . . (il che fa pensare che) nelle campagne la lingua latina fosse largamente presente, se non dominante’.

The Latin inscriptions contain few explicit indications of provenance of traders and other professionals. Italy and Narbonese Gaul are certainly attested.³⁸ As we have seen above, the easterners who came to Sicily mostly used Greek in their epitaphs, but Latin was chosen for a Syrian gladiator in Palermo (*CIL* X 7297). In this case, the language choice may have been based on the language predominantly used in the local epitaphs; but it might also be due to the prevalently Latin professional context.³⁹

Because we know that some Latin *cognomina* originated in or were typical of certain areas, such names in inscriptions can also tell us of newcomers. Each instance must be studied on its own terms because in the multilingual Roman world names that originally belonged to a certain linguistic context could become common in another for different reasons, e.g. fashion, phonological similarity, religion, or social structures.⁴⁰

The presence of Latin names that were particularly common in Africa is another interesting phenomenon of the Sicilian epigraphic evidence. We can definitely say that the names reflect at least the diffusion of cultural phenomena from one region to another, if not always the movement of persons. Iiro Kajanto has listed names that were particularly frequent in certain areas.⁴¹ Primarily the names that were especially common in Africa are attested in the inscriptions of Sicily: *Africana/-us*, *Bonifatia/-us*, *Casta/-us*, *Cresconia/-us*, *Donata/-us*, *Donatia(-)*, *Fortunata/-us*, *Kalendio*, *Karthago*, *Martialis*, *Matrona*, *Maurica/-us*, *Optata/-us*, *Quadrata/-us*, *Rogata/-us*, *Saturnina/-us* and *Victor*.⁴² Such

³⁸ Italy: *ILTermini* 34 (*Vibo*) and 35 (*Pollentia*), Narbonese Gaul: *NSA* 1897: 240 = *AE* 1897: 132 (Catania). L. Baebius L. f. Gal. Iuncinus in an inscription from Messina (*CIL* X 6976) was according to Wilson (1990: 417 n. 40) from Spain and according to Manganaro (1982: 372–3) from Campania; see also Bitto (2001: 149).

³⁹ This was pointed out to me by Mika Kajava.

⁴⁰ Phonological similarity: e.g. *Bassus*, Εὐνομος and *Valens* in Syria (see Sartre (2007: 204–24)) or *Seneca* and *Bellator* in Celtic linguistic areas (Kajanto (1965: 16–17), Mullen (2007: 48–9)); religion: the central figures of Christianity in the Christian period; social structure: Greek names in late Republican and early Imperial Rome.

⁴¹ Kajanto (1965: 18, 49–50, 139–366). See also Wilson (1990: 417 n. 37).

⁴² *Africanus*: *NSA* 1907: 758 n. 13 (Syracuse). – *Bonifatius*: *IG* XIV 531 (Catania); *AE* 1954: 89 (cf. Ampolo, Carandini, Pucci and Pensabene (1971: 250)) (Piazza Armerina); *IG* XIV 88, *NSA* 1893: 311 no. 134, *NSA* 1907: 765 no. 27, Orsi (1896: nos. 22 (bis), 23 and 66) (Syracuse). – *Castus*: *CIL* X 7292 (Palermo). – *Cresconius*: *IG* XIV 177, Ferrua, *NG* 393, Griesheimer (1991: 351) (Syracuse). – *Donatus*: Barbieri (1961: 45

names show an interesting trend: some of them are attested in western Sicily in the early Imperial period, but many surface in Late Antiquity in the catacombs of Syracuse, as will be shown below. As an instance of the spread of African Latin name-giving into Sicily, one could also cite an early Imperial Latin epitaph from Pachino (Syracuse province), the epitaph of L. Offonius Fructuosus, dedicated by his father L. Offonius Euhelpistus.⁴³ The son's name has the suffix *-osus*, typical of Africa.⁴⁴

There are of course methodological problems involved. While we can classify certain names as typically African, classifying names as typically central Italian or Roman is presently impossible. The names that are typically African are more numerous than those particularly common in other areas. In any case, the names bear evidence of the diffusion of cultural phenomena from Roman Africa throughout the Imperial period.

In the early Imperial period, linguistic expressions in the epigraphic documents rarely point to abroad. An epitaph from Syracuse, dedicated to T. Flavius Gannamali f. Ganamio(n) by his wife Allina (NSA 1947: 205), contains the seemingly banal expression *s(ua) p(ecunia) f(ecit)*, which, however, is uncommon in epitaphs. This may indicate that the family came from Numidia,⁴⁵

no. 3) = AE 1964: 183 (Marsala); CIL X 7274 (Palermo); 7013 = IMCCatania 237 (Paternò); 7355 = ILTermini 21 (Termini); Ferrua (1946–7: nos. 21 and 45), NSA 1893: 291 no. 51a (Syracuse). – *Donatia*[-?]: IMCCatania 166 (Catania). – *Fortunatus*: CIL X 7193 (Agrigento) and 7309 (Palermo); IG XIV 184 and 185, NSA 1947: 190–1 no. 9 (Syracuse). – *Kalendio*: Ferrua (1938–9: 34 no. 88) (Syracuse). – *Martialis*: CIL X 7427 = ILTermini 126 (Termini). – *Karthago*: Ferrua (1946–7: 233 no. 20) (Syracuse). – *Matrona*: Führer (1897: 142 n. 2), NSA 1907: 765 no. 27 (Syracuse). – *Mauricus*: CIL X 7333 (Palermo). – *Optatus* (not listed by Kajanto (1965: 296) as particularly African, but see Birley (1961b: 162)): CIL X 7470 (S. Marco d'Alunzio); CIL X 7393 and 7405 (= ILTermini 75 and 98, Termini). – *Quadratus*: CIL X 7191 (Licata). – *Saturninus*: NSA 1907: 487 (cf. Ferrua (1941: 233 n. 1)), between Buccheri and Francofonte (Syracuse province); IG XIV 167; Ferrua, NG 252 (Syracuse). This name, however, had enjoyed some popularity in predominantly Greek areas since early Imperial times, often written as Σατορνίλ-; see Solin (2001: 191, 193, 200–1). – *Victor*: IG XIV 83; Ferrua, NG 118 (Syracuse).

⁴³ Gentili (1961: 24–5 no. 3). ⁴⁴ Kajanto (1965: 122–3, 285).

⁴⁵ *Sua pecunia fecit*, in this order, appears together with *Dis Manibus (sacrum)* predominantly in Numidia, where the age of the deceased is a regular element (CIL VIII 2902, 3038, 3161, 3395, 3925, 4102, 4409, 17705; from elsewhere in Roman Africa, CIL VIII 951, 8553, 8998, 8999, 21521, 22770). There are only three instances from Rome (CIL VI 4850, 20050, 38585), and in two of them a monument is referred to, which makes the use of the phrase more understandable; furthermore, from Lusitania, CIL II 111 = IRCPace 381. *P(ecunia) s(ua) f(ecit)* is however attested at Termini (ILTermini 150).

although the linguistic context of the names is difficult to determine.⁴⁶

To sum up, even though the epigraphic indications of provenance, attested mostly in eastern Sicily and in Greek inscriptions, point to the east, all the other material makes it likely that in the early Imperial period there was some more immigration into Sicily from Latin-speaking areas than from areas where Greek was the dominant language. Even if we leave out the veteran colonies, it seems likely that the immigration of Latin speakers into Sicily was more extensive than their emigration.

*Demography, Greek and Latin in the late Empire:
Christian funerary epigraphy*

The last two hundred and fifty years of the period discussed here probably involved two kinds of migratory phenomena. After Sicily had regained its important role in supplying grain to Rome and the production of wheat increased, the overall demographic development must have been more positive than in the earlier Imperial period. When agricultural production increased rapidly, this implied the need for a new workforce in the countryside. Most scholars seem to think that the workers came from the declining cities,⁴⁷ but in my view immigration from outside the island may also have been involved.

The fourth and fifth centuries also belong to the 'Migration era'. It is under dispute as to how much the migrations of this period consisted of real population movements, and how much of identity shifts and cultural assimilation when new identities entered a stage previously dominated by *Romanitas*.⁴⁸ Some contemporary sources mention Sicily as a safer place than Italy, which

⁴⁶ One would expect a language of North Africa here. Wuthnow's (1930: 39) list of Semitic names contains a Γαννων (accusative).

⁴⁷ Wilson (1990: 189, 233–4, 330–6), Cracco Ruggini (1997–8: 250–2) and Vera (1997–8) emphasize the economic growth, but do not mention population growth. Of the cities, at least Catania, Marsala and Syracuse seem to have maintained a certain level of well-being: see Wilson (1990: 185–8) and Baratte (2008: 28–34). For Pace (1949: 139–42), the period discussed here was characterized by a constant decline in population.

⁴⁸ See e.g. Halsall (2007: 417–98).

was affected by the *barbara vastitas* of AD 410,⁴⁹ or than Africa, where the Catholics were expelled by the Arian king Huneric in the 480s.⁵⁰ Sicily could even be considered to be under special divine protection.⁵¹ In these contexts, Sicily is mentioned together with Sardinia and Corsica. The references seem rather generic, and one can doubt if the authors really knew where exactly the Catholics had arrived. Although some refugees came to Sicily during the fifth and sixth centuries, it is unlikely that this meant large numbers of people.⁵² In any case, even small groups may have been influential.

The principal body of evidence on these movements is funerary epigraphy. In this section, my aim is to analyse the sociolinguistic significance of the Greek and Latin Christian epitaphs of Sicily. The Christian funerary inscriptions from Sicily are divided in a very uneven way between the different areas. About 1,100 are known from Syracuse, about 150 from Catania, but only small groups from elsewhere, mostly from the south-east. The general trend of the early Imperial period, that in the west the epitaphs are mostly in Latin, continues. In the east, however, the proportion of Greek epitaphs increases. According to my counts, in Syracuse 87 per cent of the Christian epitaphs are in Greek and 13 per cent in Latin; there are one or two bilingual texts. In Catania, 79 per cent are in Greek and 21 per cent in Latin.

Some scholars have concluded that the statistics reflect the proportions of Greek-speaking and Latin-speaking individuals or families. However, Pace (1949: 255–6) suggested that the language choice was due to a religious tradition; his hypothesis has not been accepted by other scholars. Still, I think it is worth discussing here: in more modern terms, Pace claims that the language choice was due to the prestige of Greek in the Christian context, which would have been extended to language choice in epitaphs. In my view, Pace's hypothesis is unlikely to be valid as a generalization: it is improbable that all or most families who buried their dead in the catacombs of Syracuse were speakers of Latin, but chose Greek

⁴⁹ *Cod. Theod.* 7.13.20 (Sardinia, Sicily and Corsica listed together).

⁵⁰ *Vict. Vit.* 2.23, F. P. Rizzo (2006: II 2.351). Cf. Pace (1949: 373 n. 1), Varvaro (1981: 71), Saxer (1988: 28–9).

⁵¹ Cracco Ruggini (1980: 496 with n. 88). ⁵² See Varvaro (1981: 71).

for the epitaphs. However, in what follows I shall argue that there may still be a small bias in favour of Greek in the language choice.

I shall now look at what the linguistic evidence can tell us about the motivations of language choice. In general, the linguistic register of the Greek and Latin epitaphs shows the variation one usually expects from Christian funerary inscriptions. Certain epitaphs feature standard orthography and morphology, others deviate notably from it. The basic syntactic norms are generally followed.⁵³ Distinguishing between contact-induced phenomena and language-internal evolution is difficult, as always, but the emphasis seems to be on the latter side. Even graphemic influence is difficult to find.⁵⁴ I have proposed elsewhere a categorization of the structures in the prose epitaphs from the catacombs of Syracuse.⁵⁵ In Greek, the most common types are as follows: (A) just the personal name; (B) a structure which contains the name of the deceased and one or more of the elements ἐνθάδε κείτεται, the age or the date of death; (C) τόπος (or τάφος), followed by the name in the genitive; (D) an invocation for God to remember the deceased. By far the most common type is (B). The types (A), (B) and (C) are also attested in Latin. Type (A) is common in the earliest epitaphs. The epitaphs of type (B) with ἐνθάδε κείτεται tend to be earlier than those that begin with the verb 'to die'. The consular dates indicated vary from c. AD 340 to c. AD 450. It is possible that the verb-initial subtype of (B) may have diffused to Syracuse from Egypt or from Rome. Other Egyptian influences can be found sporadically in Sicilian Christian epitaphs.⁵⁶ For the other types of structures, the Greek evidence does not point to a specific place of origin.

It is easier to find imported expressions in Latin epitaphs; my instances refer to Sardinia and Gaul. The expression *hic iacet bene memorie NN*, attested in Sicily only in the Christian epitaph of an

⁵³ There are of course exceptions. For example, when the epitaph begins with ἐνθάδε κείτεται and commemorates more than one person, the verb can be in the singular form; but if the names are initial, the verb is in the plural.

⁵⁴ An example: ... *pous minus* ... (NSA 1895: 488 no. 171); see also below, n. 77.

⁵⁵ See Korhonen (2011a).

⁵⁶ The month name Φαῶφι is attested at Syracuse (*IG* XIV 160 = NSA 1895: 521 no. 267) and Chiaramonte Gulfi (RG) (Di Vita (1950: 99); Ferrua, *NG* 504; Manganaro (1994: 107 n. 50)). For another proposed but not certain connection with Egypt, see Curbera (1995).

Albina, *honesta femina* (NSA 1893: 287 no. 37) makes it probable that her family came from *Caralis* (Cagliari).⁵⁷ Another apparently imported Latin expression in Syracuse is the initial *in hoc tumulo requiescit NN*, as Griesheimer has pointed out.⁵⁸ It is common especially in Gaul (Lyons, Vichy, Vienne), and it may well be that the family had come to Syracuse from that area.

In all, the evolution of the linguistic register of the Greek epitaphs, which shows little or no influence of Latin, could be held as an argument against Pace's hypothesis. On the other hand, the brevity and the formulaic nature of the texts hide contact-related phenomena from view.

The epigraphic indications of provenance throw little light on the matter. They continue to have an eastern emphasis, but the Latin West is also represented. As regards the Greek East, the catacombs of Syracuse have transmitted to us Greek epitaphs of newcomers from Syria (five instances), Asia Minor (Ephesus), Cyrenaica (Ptolemais), Lycia, and Thrace (Constantinople).⁵⁹ The following predominantly Latin areas are mentioned: Cisalpine Gaul (Aquileia), Hispania, Rome and Tripolitania (Leptis Magna, twice).⁶⁰ However, the epitaphs of the immigrants from Rome and from Tripolitania are in Greek. Because an *Ithallas* from Tripolitania has a Libyan name, Feissel (1983: 610–11) has suggested that he was originally from Cyrenaica, and thus already familiar with Greek. The newcomer from Rome may also have been a Greek speaker. Most surviving epitaphs of the Syracusans contain no indications of origin.

The onomastics of the Christian inscriptions from Syracuse provide ambiguous evidence on the motivations of language choice. I start with an overview of how common Greek and Latin names were in the catacombs of Syracuse (see Table 12.1).

The proportion of Latin names is notably higher than the proportion of Latin epitaphs. If we compare the statistics to those

⁵⁷ Parallels: *CIL* X 7762, 7775 and *AE* 2000: 648, from Cagliari, and possibly *CIL* XIII 11209 from Lyons (with *ben[e memori]us*).

⁵⁸ Griesheimer (1989: 150–1 no. 6): [*In ho[c] tum[ulo] requies[ci]t puell[a no]mine Bon[–]*].

⁵⁹ See Sgarlata (2006: 1188–97). The Syrians will be discussed in the final section.

⁶⁰ Sgarlata (2006: 1191–2, 1194, 1199). For Leptis Magna, besides *Ιθαλλας νοικληρος* in Orsi (1923: 118 no. 21), add Ferrua, *NG* 271.

Table 12.1. *The language of the name in the epitaphs from the catacombs of Syracuse.*

Names in all inscriptions (n = 862)		
Greek: 60%	Latin: 36%	Other: 3.7%
Names in Greek inscriptions (n = 776)		
Greek: 64%	Latin: 32%	Other: 3.7%

presented for Rome and Carthage by Kajanto (1963: 57–8), it is interesting that the frequencies of Greek and Latin names are fairly similar in Christian Greek epitaphs from Syracuse and from Rome. In Rome, Greek names are at 65.5 per cent, Latin names at 30.0 per cent and other names at 3.5 per cent. I counted separate figures for the two principal catacombs, Vigna Cassia and San Giovanni, as the former is slightly earlier than the latter, but no significant differences in the frequencies of Greek and Latin names emerge.

The most common names attested in the catacombs of Syracuse can be grouped as follows. The names in Tables 12.2 and 12.3 are given in a standardized Latin form (the names in *-o(n)* are male names in *-ων*). The most common roots are listed in Table 12.2. The most common individual names are shown in Table 12.3; only the names with five or more bearers have been included.

The comparison of Syracuse with Carthage, Rome and the Greek East brings forth interesting results: the Christian onomastics of Syracuse has more affinities with Rome than with the Greek East or Carthage. Among the most common names in Syracuse are the typically Christian, originally Greek theophoric names *Cyriace/-us* and *Theodule/-us*. They are well attested also in Rome and in Greece, but unattested or rare in Carthage. *Cyriace/-us* seems somewhat more common in Macedonia and Thrace than in the other areas of continental and insular Greece.⁶¹ Similarly, *Anastasia/-ius* and *Eusebius* are relatively common in Rome, Syracuse and in Greece, but rare in Carthage. The pattern of *Eusebius* in Greece seems similar to that of *Cyriace/-us*, as it is

⁶¹ Κυριακή/-ός: four cases in *LGPNI*, four in II, five in IIIA (excluding Sicily), four in IIIB and fourteen in IV; Θεοδούλη/-α/εὐδούλος: six cases in *LGPNI*, seven in II, two in IIIA (excluding Sicily), three in IIIB and fifteen in IV. See also Kajanto (1963: 102–4).

Table 12.2. *The 'top ten' of name roots in the catacombs of Syracuse.*

	Root	Cases	Names
1	Theo-	30	<i>Theodora, Theodorus, Theodule, Theodulus</i>
2	Eutyech-	27	<i>Eutyche, Eutyches, Eutychetus, Eutychia, Eutychiane, Eutychides, Eutychio(n), Eutychis, Eutychius</i>
3	Cyri-	25	<i>Cyriace, Cyriacus</i>
4	Vict-	20	<i>Victor, Victoria, Victorinus</i>
5	Agath-	19	<i>Agathe, Agathius, Agatho(n), Agathonicus, Agathopus</i>
6	Marc-	17	<i>Marcella, Marcellina, Marcellus, Marcia, Marcianus</i>
7	Nic-	14	<i>Nice, Nicephor-, Nico(n), Nicopole, Nicostrate, Nicostratus</i>
	Paul-		<i>Paula, Paulina, Paulus</i>
9	Iren-	13	<i>Irene, Irenaeus</i>
10	Dionysi-Zosim-	12	<i>Dionysia, Dionysius Zosimas, Zosime, Zosimio(n), Zosimos</i>

Table 12.3. *The most common individual names in the catacombs of Syracuse.*

Female names		Male names	
<i>Cyriace</i>	13	<i>Cyriacus</i>	9
<i>Victoria</i>	10	<i>Theodulus</i>	
<i>Agathe</i>	9	<i>Eusebius</i>	7
<i>Eutychia, Theodule</i>	6	<i>Dionysius, Felix, Ianuarius, Paulus</i>	6
<i>Irene, Zosime</i>	5	<i>Anastasius, Irenaeus, Petrus, Syracosius</i>	5

more common in Macedonia and Thrace.⁶² The other Greek names common in Syracuse do not belong exclusively to the Christian context but were well attested throughout the Imperial period.

⁶² Ἀναστασία/Ἀναστάσιος: five cases in *LGPNI*, one in II, four in IIIA (excluding Italy and Sicily), two in IIIB, four in IV. Εὐσέβιος: not in *LGPNI*–II; two cases in IIIA and IIIB, eight in IV. See also Kajanto (1963: 114, 83).

They are derived from the nouns or adjectives ἀγαθός ‘good’, εἰρήνη ‘peace’, εὐτυχία ‘good luck’, ζωή ‘life’ and νίκη ‘victory’. All such names that are attested more than once at Syracuse were also popular in the Christian inscriptions from Rome and in Greece.⁶³ Another common name at Syracuse, Διονύσιος, was by far the most popular Greek male name in Antiquity.⁶⁴ Evidently it did not have an immediate connection to the cult of Dionysus, as it remained in use even in the Christian period, although I have the impression that its popularity in western Christianity is not matched by the eastern sources.⁶⁵ At Syracuse, the name might also refer to the legendary rulers of the fifth and fourth centuries BC.

Certain Latin characteristics further distinguish Syracuse from the predominantly Greek-speaking regions, notably the names *Felix* and *Ianuarius*, as well as those derived from the past participle of the verb *vincere* ‘to win’. None of these names became common in predominantly Greek-speaking areas during the early Empire⁶⁶ or in Christian epigraphy.⁶⁷ In the West, *Felix* had a servile connotation, which seems to have been lost to some extent in Christian onomastics. Of the names *Ianuaria/-us* there are in all eleven instances at Syracuse. They are very common in Christian epigraphy in the West, but uncommon in the predominantly Greek-speaking areas.⁶⁸ The names beginning with *Victor-*, on the other hand, are uncommon elsewhere in the east besides Egypt, where *Victor* is well attested.⁶⁹

As I pointed out above, the Latin *cognomina* attested in Sicily include Latin names that either originated or were particularly frequent in Roman Africa. Many are attested in the catacombs of Syracuse, although not among the favourites: *Africanus*, *Bonifatius*, *Cresconius*, *Donatus*, *Fortunatus*, *Kalendio*, *Karthago*, *Matrona*

⁶³ For Rome, see Solin (2003), s.vv.

⁶⁴ The statistics are at www.lgpn.ox.ac.uk/publications/index.html (last accessed in October 2010).

⁶⁵ Because the space is limited, many references to individual documents have been omitted in this section; they can be obtained from the author. For Rome, see Kajanto (1963: 87) and Solin (2003: 327–8, 330); Attica: four cases in *IG II–III² V*; Crete: two in Bandy (1970); Macedonia: three in *RIChrM*; Egypt: one in *IGChrEg*.

⁶⁶ See Solin (2001: 192–3). ⁶⁷ This emerged from a *PHI* search in April 2010.

⁶⁸ *Felix* and *Ianuaria/-us*: Kajanto (1963: 89, 22). There were three Christian cases of the latter in the *PHI* database in October 2010.

⁶⁹ *Victor*: nine cases in *IGChrEg*; *Victorinus* appears sporadically in other regions.

and *Saturninus* (see above, n. 42). Another typically Christian phenomenon is the names with the element *deus*. They originated in North Africa as translations of names in Semitic languages, and were mostly or exclusively used by Christians.⁷⁰ Of such names, *Adeodata/-us*, *Quoddeusvult* and *Quodvultdeus* are attested in Syracuse, Salemi and western Sicily.⁷¹ One name provides a connection with Sardinia: the name *Turritanus*, which lurks behind a spelling error in a Latin epitaph,⁷² probably refers to *Turris Libisonis* (Porto Torres).⁷³ Obviously, geographical proper names do not necessarily indicate provenance: one cannot argue without further evidence that the persons called *Romanilla* and *Romanus* in Messina were from Rome.⁷⁴ In *Turritanus*' case, however, it is likely that his family was of Sardinian origin, mainly because the name is so rare.

Now, how much does the language of the name tell us about the dominant language of the bearer? In interpreting the name statistics, one must keep in mind that by the Christian period, the Greek name had lost the social stigma it had had in the late Republican and early Imperial period in Italy and, to a certain extent, also in Sicily.⁷⁵ Originally Greek, Latin or Semitic names, like *Petrus*, *Paulus* and *Io(h)annes*, could become fashionable among Christians regardless of their social status or native language. In order to find out how closely the language of the name reflects the language of the bearer in Syracuse, I have analysed the language choice in the epitaphs with certain names. Some regularity emerges: all the

⁷⁰ See Kajanto (1963: 101–3); Adams (2003: 238).

⁷¹ *Adeodata*: IG XIV 66; *Adeodatus*: NSA 1895: 492 no. 185 and Ferrua (1986: 98 no. 149); *Quoddeusvult*: CIL X 8045, 19 (brick stamps, four examples); see Bivona (1982–3: 370, 373 n. 38, 377, 387); apparently otherwise unattested. *Quodvultdeus*: CIL X 7175 = IG Palermo 113 and Ferrua, NG 198 (Syracuse); Bilotta (1977: 37 and 49) = Caillet (1993: 36–7 no. 1 and 39 no. 5), possibly the same person in both (Salemi).

⁷² NSA 1895: 485 no. 163: LVRRITANVS (cf. Solin (1998: 243), whose suggestion originated from the present author).

⁷³ Cf. the *navic(ularii) Turritani* in a mosaic from Ostia (CIL XIV 4549, 19). The adjective appears rarely as a personal name: the other attestations known to me are from *Turris Libisonis* (AE 2002, 634a), Africa (Dougga: Khanoussi and Maurin (2002: 298 no. 667); Carthage: ILAfr 412: 120), and possibly Venusia (CIL IX 519, *Turritana*, which could be another name). Kajanto (1965: 209) mentions that the adjective was also used to refer to localities known as *ad Turres*, but the epigraphic attestations seem to refer to Sardinia.

⁷⁴ *Romanilla*, *Romanus*: IGLMessina 20–1. For a list of geographical *cognomina* common in the areas they refer to, see Kajanto (1965: 49).

⁷⁵ On early Imperial Sicily, see Korhonen (2011b: 16–17).

fifty-one epitaphs in which the deceased has a Greek name derived from εὐτυχ- or κύριος are in Greek. On the other hand, of the epitaphs in which at least one of the deceased has a Latin name with African connections, one-fifth are in Latin (twelve out of fifty-three), and four-fifths in Greek. Of such names, *Quodvultdeus* is to my knowledge otherwise unattested in Greek inscriptions, and *Adeodatus/-a* is rare.⁷⁶ It is not insignificant that one epitaph of an *Adeodata* seems to contain graphemic influence from Latin.⁷⁷

In all, on onomastic grounds, one has the impression that some Latin speakers who buried their relatives in the catacombs of Syracuse may have chosen a Greek epitaph. It may have been easier to find a person competent in incising an epitaph in Greek than in Latin, especially if a modest inscription was sufficient. Such practical aspects could also determine the language choice. In this way, the prestige of Greek in church administration may have manifested itself in the epitaphs. Some bearers of 'African Latin' names may of course have been speakers of Greek. The persons with the most common Greek names were apparently predominantly Greek speakers, as no evidence points to the contrary. Pace's hypothesis is not to be discarded completely, but it must be modified. The important issue of bilingualism will be discussed in the final section of this article.

In assessing the relevance of Syracusan funerary epigraphy for Sicily as a whole, it is also necessary to comment on the small number of Sicilian funerary inscriptions that postdate the burials in catacombs, from the late fifth century AD on. Dating them is often difficult, and some belong to the Byzantine period;⁷⁸ some of them may contain phraseology that diffused to Sicily from North Africa.⁷⁹ Because the epitaphs that postdate catacombs are predominantly in Latin, many scholars have concluded that the

⁷⁶ A *PHI* search in March 2010 yielded only one *Adeodat-* (*RIChrM* 44).

⁷⁷ <V> instead of <Y> in *IG* XIV 66 (cf. Ferrua (1938–9: 31)). The graphic forms of the name *Quodvultdeus* (*CIL* X 7175: Κοββουλδεους; Ferrua, *NG* 198: Κοββορδεους) may seem garbled, but deficient knowledge of Latin is not necessarily implied. Similar spellings are also found in Latin inscriptions, see Kajanto (1965: 217). It is interesting that unlike in other Latin names in *-us*, the ending has not been converted into *-os*.

⁷⁸ For the epitaphs that certainly postdate AD 535, see Korhonen (2010: 120).

⁷⁹ On an interesting group of epitaphs from Syracuse (*ed. pr.* *NSA* 1947: 189–91), see most recently Korhonen (2010: 121–4).

position of Latin was now rapidly improving even in eastern Sicily.⁸⁰ It must of course be kept in mind that a much narrower section of the society is represented in the latest epitaphs than in those found in the catacombs.

Be that as it may, the onomastics of the catacombs have indicated a growing importance of Latin in Late Antiquity among the masses even in Syracuse, the city with the strongest connections with the eastern Mediterranean. It is likely that this trend continued until the end of the period discussed here across the island, except possibly in isolated places like the Aeolian islands. It seems likely to me that one significant cause for the trend was the economically motivated immigration from North Africa during the growth of agricultural production in Sicily. This is compatible with some characteristics of the material culture, such as mosaic styles and building techniques, which indicate either that African craftsmen were working in Sicily or that the techniques were adopted from there.⁸¹ For geographical reasons as well it is likely that the contacts of Sicily with Spain and Gaul were less intense than with Africa and Italy. The epigraphic indications of provenance should not be allowed to distort the whole picture.

Political life and social order

Early Empire

In the early Imperial period, the imperial and the provincial administration and the army were not strongly present in Sicily. Moreover, there is little evidence of individuals of Sicilian origin who entered the senate, the equestrian order or the military in general.⁸² Many of the Imperial procurators for Sicily originally came from Africa or Greece.⁸³ Furthermore, both Imperial patronage and the senatorial presence in Sicily seem to have been weak, at least

⁸⁰ E.g. Ferrua (1942: 214–15), Cracco Ruggini (1980: 489), Varvaro (1981: 59).

⁸¹ Wilson (1990: 326–7).

⁸² For senatorial families, see Manganaro (1982), Eck (1996a).

⁸³ Cracco Ruggini (1980: 484–5 with n. 11).

before Late Antiquity.⁸⁴ During the late Republic, the Roman military in Sicily seems to have consisted of local *auxilia*.⁸⁵ The presence of the army in Sicily in the early Imperial period remains undocumented; the Misenum fleet may have used the island's harbours.⁸⁶ The conflicts of the turbulent years of the 60s AD did not signify a permanent presence of the army.⁸⁷

In addition to its demographic consequences, the Augustan colonization also promoted the prestige of Latin among those who originally spoke another language. The epigraphic evidence confirms that in the early Imperial period, the language used in the highest levels of administration was Latin. There is an almost total absence of Greek texts from the colonies. In the other cities, which presumably kept their previous institutions, Greek is attested.⁸⁸ As regards language use in the other levels of jurisdiction, we have to rely on circumstantial evidence from the other parts of the Empire. It is likely that wills, the birth certificates of citizens and census returns had to be written in Latin; in legal proceedings and contracts, at least in certain parts, the language choice could be more free.⁸⁹ Greek may well have been used, but no evidence survives.

The Sicilian society of the period was class-divided, to use Giddens' terminology (1984: 180–5), and highly formally stratified; social mobility was not excluded. To the typical classes, namely the senatorial and equestrian orders, the other freeborn, the freedmen and the slaves, one must (before AD 212) add the non-citizens (*peregrini*), in turn divided into freeborn and slaves. In the early Imperial period, the *peregrini* must have formed a substantial part of the population, although their visibility is low in the epigraphic

⁸⁴ Clemente (1980: 469–70), Vera (1996: 51–2). For the evidence of Imperial involvement in Sicily from Tiberius to Diocletian, see Manganaro (1988: 65–86).

⁸⁵ Prag (2007a). ⁸⁶ See Wilson (1990: 38–9, with 359 n. 60, and 175).

⁸⁷ I refer to the rebellion of Clodius Macer and to the conflicts between Sicilian cities mentioned in Philostr. VA 5.13. See Clemente (1980: 470), Manganaro (1988: 70–1), Wilson (1990: 189).

⁸⁸ For the colonies, see Wilson (1990: 38–40) and, most recently, Korhonen (2011b); for the other cities, see Wilson (1990: 40–3) and Cordano (1999: 152–5). The Greek dedicatory inscription from Agrigento that commemorates Augustus, datable to the first two decades AD (Fiorentini (1996), AE 1996: 809, Wilson (1996: 87), Kunz (2006: 253); and see Chapter 11) shows that Greek could be used in the official context of the local gymnasium.

⁸⁹ Kaimio (1979: 143–53).

record. From the assumption that the Sicilian cities were in stagnation during the period discussed here it has been concluded that the formation of a wealthy bourgeoisie did not take place in a similar manner as in Roman Africa. In any case, one can hardly compare the Sicilian cities to their African counterparts. Differences in the rigidity of social stratification between different parts of the island have been suggested.⁹⁰ During the Imperial period, the positions of slaves and freeborn labourers became increasingly similar, and a new dichotomy developed, between *honestiores* and *humiliores*.

Besides formal stratification, the overall social status of individuals also included other criteria. On some criteria, such as wealth and merits, their position could be high, and it could be low on others, such as birth or legal status.⁹¹ The freedmen who had been successful in acquiring wealth could have an influential position, which was manifested in various ways. For us, their most visible manifestations are the surviving monuments. The most potent group of freedmen, the members of the imperial bureaucracy, are only marginally attested in Sicily. There is a modest corpus of inscriptions, all in Latin, of slaves and freedmen of the imperial household.⁹² Their number is comparable to the surrounding provinces in Sardinia and in southern Italy.

Late Empire

The administrative position of Sicily changed both in theory and in practice in the reorganization of the tetrarchic period, which made Sicily part of suburbicarian Italy. The position of Governor of Sicily became an important part of the senatorial career, and there is much more literary evidence of senatorial involvement. The presence of the army was also felt more strongly when Sicily became a strategic base for military expeditions if the situation in

⁹⁰ According to Giardina (1987: 235), the stratification may have been less rigid in the eastern coastal cities than elsewhere.

⁹¹ Weaver (1967: 3–4).

⁹² Freedmen: *CIL* X 7144 (Syracuse), 7189 (Caltanissetta), 7264 (Partinico), 7308 (Palermo) and *IMCCatania* 38 (Catania, a *tabularius*); slaves: *CIL* X 6977 (Messina, an *arcarius XX hereditatium*), *IMCCatania* 136 (= *CIL* VI 27350, probably from Catania).

Africa demanded this,⁹³ although the epigraphic evidence of the army continues to be minimal.

In contrast with the public spaces of the early Imperial period, there are many prominent epigraphic monuments in Greek from the late Empire. This is the case especially in eastern Sicily, but also in Marsala. It has even been claimed that the evidence of monumental evergetism in Sicily only appears in Late Antiquity, but this is not entirely true.⁹⁴ However, the developments in Sicily cannot be compared to the attrition of Latin in the Roman colonies of the Greek East:⁹⁵ Latin continued to be used along with Greek, and the Latin documents from the public sphere outnumber those in Greek even in the cities of eastern Sicily.⁹⁶

The Greek documents include important monuments written both in poetry and in prose. According to Manganaro (1958–9: 24), the civic culture of Sicily in the late Empire was Latin in the local administrative practices, but Greek in literary taste; the Greek language had a tendency to manifest itself also in political life. He refers in particular to the monumental building inscription from Catania with the consular date of AD 434 (*IMCCatania* 11 = *IG XIV* 455). Formally a decree of the *consularis* Flavius Felix Eumathius, it commemorates in prose the reduced consumption

⁹³ Clemente (1980: 473–7), Cracco Ruggini (1980: 487–98).

⁹⁴ Cracco Ruggini (1997–8: 252), but see Korhonen (2011b: 10–11).

⁹⁵ Thus already Varvaro (1981: 43), Wilson (1990: 315–16).

⁹⁶ I list here the inscriptions of the public sphere from between the Tetrarchy and the sixth century AD, with an approximate dating to centuries in Roman numerals. Catania: *IMCCatania* 7 (*CIL X* 7014, IV–V), 10 (*CIL X* 7020, IV), 11 (*IG XIV* 455, V), 12 (*AE* 1956: 259, V–VI), 15 (IV–V), 24 (*IG XIV* 502, late III–IV), 26 (*CIL X* 7025, late III), 41 (*CIL X* 8312, III–IV), 42 (III–IV), *CIL X* 7017 = *IG XIV* 453 (IV). – Marsala: *CIL X* 7229 and 7230 (late IV), 7231 (IV), 7232 (V), 7234 (early IV), *EE VIII* 696 (c.300), Barbieri (1963: 225–6 no. 1) = *AE* 1966: 166 (early IV), Barbieri (1963: 232 no. 2) = *AE* 1966: 167 (early IV), *NSA* 1905: 217 = *ILS* 8982 (IV). – Mazara: *CIL X* 7204 (IV), 7205 (IV). – Palermo: *IGPalermo* 149 (*IG XIV* 296; uncertain provenance, but certainly from western Sicily, early IV), *ILPalermo* 24 (*CIL X* 7282, late III), 25 (*CIL X* 7283, early IV), 26 (*CIL X* 7284, early IV). – Sciacca: *CIL X* 7200 (early IV). – Syracuse: *CIL X* 7122 (IV?), 7124 (IV–V), 7125 = *IG XIV* 14 (IV–V), 7133 = Manganaro (1989: 183 no. 64) = *AE* 1989: 342g (IV–V), 7164 (?), 8313 (?), *EE VIII* 684 = Manganaro (1989: 181 no. 60) (IV–V), *NSA* 1889: 386 = Ferrua (1941: 160–1) (IV–V), *NSA* 1940: 218–19, cf. *AE* 1980: 512 and Manganaro (1993: 581) (V), Manganaro (1993: 583 n. 102 and Fig. 20) = *SEG XLIII* 634 (IV–V); some of the seat inscriptions from the amphitheatre could belong to this period (*CIL X* 7130, see Gentili (1973: 70 nos. 1–24)). – Termini: *ILTermini* 10 (*CIL X* 7346, late III). – Tindari (?): *ILPalermo* 71 (*CIL X* 7480, III–IV), *AE* 1989: 338g (IV?).

of wood effected by the renovation of a bath and gives some other details on the work. Cracco Ruggini (1997–8: 254 n. 26) has plausibly suggested that the language choice of the inscription was due to the fact that the governor wanted the text to be accessible to a larger audience. If it was exposed on the outside of the bath, its letters were, quite unlike many other building inscriptions of Late Antiquity, certainly readable by any passer-by literate in Greek.

There is no reason to suppose that the Greek documents in prose were written by persons who were unfamiliar with contemporary Greek. Still, some expressions may seem anomalous in the context of Greek epigraphy, and one wonders if they were due to Latin influence. The article can be missing: in a document from Marsala,⁹⁷ the dedicator is given as βουλὴ καὶ δῆμος Λιλυβαειτῶν, without the usual definite articles (ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος). In the second-century monument of Iallia Bassia (*IGUR* 61), dedicated by the city of Taormina in Rome, the dedicator is indicated as ἡ βου[λῆ] καὶ δῆμος τῆς λαμπρᾶς π[ό]λεως Ταυρομενιτῶν. However, such instances are not absent in the Greek East.⁹⁸ In the Catania bath inscription, the text runs [ἔδωκε]ν (?) ὁ προγραφεὶς εὐκαθοσίωτος τῶν εἰ[δ]ίων ἀναλωμάτων . . . , and if [ἔδωκε]ν, or another verb with the meaning ‘donate’ was included, one would expect a prepositional phrase in Greek (ἐκ τῶν etc.). In Latin, on the other hand, one can use an NP in the ablative (but not in the genitive) in expressions with the same meaning (e.g. *suis impensis*).

The use of Greek as a regional *lingua franca* is attested in the inscription set up in honour of a governor Betitius Perpetuus Arzygius by the Sicilian cities (αἱ Σικελῶν βουλαι καὶ ὁ δῆμος) in Rome in the fourth century (*IGUR* 60). The statue was probably dedicated by an entity that could be the *Siciliae commune* mentioned by Symmachus (*Epist.* 1.17), and that apparently used Greek in its meetings.⁹⁹

⁹⁷ Barbieri (1963: 232 no. 2) = *AE* 1966: 167.

⁹⁸ There were two other instances for ἡ βουλὴ καὶ δῆμος in the *PHI* in April 2010, from Pisidia and Phrygia.

⁹⁹ See Sartori (1981); Wilson (1990: 316, 383 n. 96); Cracco Ruggini (1997–8: 252–3, n. 25). Here, I use the term *lingua franca*, following Matras (2009: 275–6), only to describe the sociolinguistic role of a language; nothing is implied of its structural features.

Religion and literary culture

Pagan religion

The rich pantheon of divinities venerated in Sicily in the early Imperial period included cults that had very long traditions on the island and others that had arrived more recently. Religious practices ranged from the most public (e.g. civic or state rituals, public dedications) to the most private (e.g. prayers), and sweeping statements concerning language use in the domain of religion should be avoided. One can generally say that both Greek and Latin enjoyed prestige in the domain of pagan religion, but there were differences in the sub-domains. Certain cults, such as that of Anna and the Children (Παῖδες) in Buscemi (Syracuse province), had a predominantly Greek linguistic character, judging by the inscribed evidence, which stretches from late Republican times until the first century AD.¹⁰⁰ In this case, the use of Greek was evidently perceived as part of the local tradition, along with the dating by the name of the eponymous priest of Zeus Olympius at Syracuse.

Other dedications give testimony of the use of both Greek and Latin. When they are private, the language choice seems to have been a matter of personal preference, which could be influenced, for example, by the availability of stone-cutters. Thus, for instance, dedications survive to Serapis and Isis from Syracuse and Taormina and to Venus Victrix Hyblensis from Paternò in Latin.¹⁰¹ It is not irrelevant that in the latter case, the *cognomen* of the dedicator is *Donatus*: at least the name, if not its bearer, probably arrived in Sicily from Africa (see above, p. 336). It is important not to exaggerate the social significance of the language choice in private dedications. For instance, in the colony of Taormina, a freedman's modest dedication in Greek to the Θεοὶ Ἀγνواί in the first or second century AD (*IG* XIV 431) has been interpreted as an indication of

¹⁰⁰ The inscriptions: Orsi, *NSA* 1899: 452–71; *NSA* 1920: 327–9; see Wilson (1990: 280–1).

¹⁰¹ Serapis and Isis: *CIL* X 6989 and *NSA* 1947: 187 = Manganaro (1989: 182 no. 62), cf. Korhonen (2011b: 10 with n. 57); Venus Victrix: *CIL* X 7013 = *IMCCatania* 237.

the 'revival' of Greek.¹⁰² However, the language choice here has little in common with language choices in dedications set up in the forum of the colony; it only shows that Greek continued to be in use.

In certain cults, the written evidence is predominantly in Latin. This is obviously the case for the imperial cult, closely related to administration and social order. Among the published epigraphic evidence from Sicily, only one relevant item in Greek has so far surfaced.¹⁰³ The only inscription in which the wording might reflect language contact with Greek comes from S. Marco d'Alunzio.¹⁰⁴ Another prevalently Latin epigraphic context was the temple of Astarte/Aphrodite/Venus at Eryx. The cult, which may have been of Elymian origin, developed in contact with the Phoenician tradition and had a certain political importance in the context of the late Roman Republic. It seems to have been abandoned in the early Imperial period.¹⁰⁵ Apparently the inscribed dedications from the Imperial period are all in Latin.¹⁰⁶ The dedicators are mostly persons in high positions.

Christian and Jewish religion

In his discussion of how the adoption of Christianity influenced the sociolinguistic situation in Sicily, Varvaro (1981: 51–6, 60–70) emphasized the differences between the eastern coastal cities with their hinterland and the other parts of the island. Whereas

¹⁰² Thus Manganaro (1963a: 30), but see Varvaro (1981: 42). The dedicator L. Manlius Hermes was probably a freedman, even though this is not explicitly indicated.

¹⁰³ See Duthoy (1976: 174), Wilson (1990: 295–8, 411 n. 90), Kunz (2006: 248–64); add a fragmentary dedication to a *pat(ronus) Aug(ustalium)* from Tindari: Manganaro (1989: 164 no. 13) = *AE* 1989: 338i. The Greek document is the dedicatory inscription of the gymnasium of Agrigento, which commemorates Augustus (*AE* 1996: 809, see n. 88 above).

¹⁰⁴ *CIL* X 7464: *Liviae Augusti / deae / municipium*. According to Fishwick (1991: 453), such a use of *deus / dea* was rare in the Latin West, and may have been influenced by the Greek practice.

¹⁰⁵ See Wilson (1990: 283–5), Bonnet (2006: 210, 212–13), Kunz (2006: 34–8, 151–3).

¹⁰⁶ Latin: Republican: *CIL* I² 843, 2221, 2222, 2223 (= X 7258, 7253–5); early Imperial: *CIL* X 7257, 7259. Greek inscriptions: *IG* XIV 281 and 285 (Hellenistic?); *IG* XIV 282 (cf. *CIL* X 7258 = I² 843; Prag (2007c: 308), 50s BC). Neo-Punic: Guzzo Amadasi (1967: 53–5 no. 1); third-second century BC).

Christianity must have spread relatively rapidly from the eastern Mediterranean to the ports of eastern Sicily, the process took place at a much slower pace in the interior and in the west. There, the conversion to Christianity had a linguistically Latin emphasis. It was coordinated from Rome and combined with the accumulation of landed property to the Christian church. Varvaro concluded that Christianization must have favoured Latin to a notable extent.¹⁰⁷

Epitaphs of church personnel survive both in Greek and in Latin. In the west, such Latin epitaphs are attested in Marsala, Salemi and Selinunte.¹⁰⁸ In the east, two clerics of Syracuse, both coming from abroad, were commemorated with Latin epitaphs: *Auxentius, Hispanus patria, ep(iscopus) Rotdon* and *Superianus clerecus de Aquileia* (= *Aquileia*).¹⁰⁹ Particularly interesting are the mosaic inscriptions from the church of S. Miceli in Salemi, the phases of which seem datable to the fifth and the sixth centuries.¹¹⁰ Besides the epitaph of a *Dionisius presbyter*, they include what was probably the dedicatory inscription of the church, in Latin. It is fragmentary but contained the words [*po*]ntificis patris episc(opi).¹¹¹ Greek inscriptions are not absent from the church: one was dedicated by Μακ[άριος (?)] πρε(σ)β(ύτερος).¹¹² Some scholars have considered the language choice as a criterion for dating the inscriptions, but this approach has been abandoned for good reason.¹¹³

Some scholars have claimed that in the fifth century the language of the liturgy in Sicily changed from Greek to Latin; others, that Greek liturgy continued to be used in eastern Sicily.¹¹⁴ Neither

¹⁰⁷ For the Christianization process in Sicily, see also Cracco Ruggini (1980: 487–9) and (1987).

¹⁰⁸ Marsala: *CIL* X 7252; Salemi: Bilotta (1977: 54–5) = Caillet (1993: 37 no. 2), *ed. pr.* *NSA* 1893: 341 (incomplete); Selinunte: 7201 = *ILPalermo* 44.

¹⁰⁹ Ferrua (1940: 45–7 no. 1) and *NSA* 1893: 289 no. 45 (= Agnello (1953: nos. 82 and 74)).

¹¹⁰ *Ed. pr.* *NSA* 1893: 340–1; see, in particular, Pace (1916); Bilotta (1977); Wilson (1990: 226, 307); Caillet (1993: 35–41).

¹¹¹ Bilotta (1977: 36) = Caillet (1993: 40 no. 6).

¹¹² Bilotta (1977: 49) = Caillet (1993: 39 no. 5).

¹¹³ See Wilson (1990: 307) and Caillet (1993: 35–41); for the earlier approach, Ferrua (1942: 215).

¹¹⁴ For the former view, see Pace (1949: 59) (who cites G. Di Giovanni, *De divinis Siculorum officiis*, Palermo 1736, which I have not been able to consult); cf. Varvaro (1981: 52). For the latter, see Ferrua (1942: 212).

side has produced evidence for the claims. In principle, we should probably not expect a sudden change in language use in all the churches of Sicily, although efforts in that direction may have been made. It is also very possible that the situation was different between the western and eastern part of the island.

In this context one is often reminded of the learned bishop Paschasinus of Marsala (Lilybaeum) who spoke in Latin and whose statements were then translated into Greek at the church council of Chalcedon held in AD 451.¹¹⁵ The common explanation for Paschasinus' behaviour is that he was ignorant of Greek.¹¹⁶ Pace (1949: 255) saw this lack of linguistic skills as another indication of the advances of Latin in Sicily (cf. above, p. 339), whereas Varvaro (1981: 54) considered that it must have been uncommon among the prelates of that region. At Chalcedon, Paschasinus had an important role: he was the head of the legation of Leo, bishop of Rome.¹¹⁷ Thus, one might also suspect that Leo, who apparently knew very little Greek, continued to promote the use of Latin even in relations with the Greek-speaking churches. Many western representatives had used Latin in the two church councils of Ephesus (AD 431 and 449).¹¹⁸ There was evidently no obligation for all legates to speak in Latin: Julian, bishop of Cos, who is also listed as Leo's legate at Chalcedon, appears to have given his own speeches in Greek.¹¹⁹ Still, it is possible that every papal legate

¹¹⁵ E.g. Πασκασίνος ἐπίσκοπος Λιλυθαίου ἐπαρχίας Σικελίας ἐπέχων τὸν τόπον τοῦ ἀγίου-
ωτάτου ἀρχιεπισκόπου τοῦ ἀποστολικοῦ θρόνου τῆς πρεσβυτέρας Ῥώμης Λέοντος
εἶπεν Ῥωμαϊστὶ . . . (ACO II I.2, 8). For the instances in which Paschasinus is mentioned,
see ACO II VI (index), 52–3; cf. Price and Gaddis (2007: III 271). The proceedings do
not always indicate that Latin was used or that the speech was translated, but it is more
likely that such indications were omitted than that the legates used Latin only when it
is explicitly stated.

¹¹⁶ Pace (1949: 255), Cracco Ruggini (1980: 488), Varvaro (1981: 54), Wilson (1990:
317).

¹¹⁷ On the context, see most recently Wessel (2008: 297–308).

¹¹⁸ For an overview of language use in these councils, see Millar (2006: 16–20), who does
not discuss the issue of language policy.

¹¹⁹ See ACO II I.1, 121, 169, 170, 175, 176; I.2, 98; I.3, 6, 53, 54, 109. There is no
indication of the use of a language other than Greek (but see above, n. 115). Because
of variant readings in manuscripts, some scholars have located Julian's diocese at Cius
in Bithynia (e.g. Wessel (2008)), but see Schwartz, ACO II, VI, 33; Price and Gaddis
(2007: I 124 n. 39).

competent in Latin had to use it; if this was the case, no conclusions can be drawn about the Greek skills of Paschasinus.¹²⁰ If the Greek skills of Paschasinus were insufficient or lacking, he might still have been symptomatic rather than anomalous. The education of a cleric in Marsala in the late fourth or early fifth century did not necessarily include Greek. Moreover, the case could illustrate the structure of linguistic communities, to which I shall return in the final part of this chapter.

Two documents further illustrate the increased importance of Latin in the fields of both religion and administration. Many scholars have been puzzled by the language choice in them. The first is the epitaph of *Aurelius Samohil* (= *Samuel*, *Šmuel*) and *Lasia Erine* (= *Irene*) from Catania, dated AD 383 (*IMCCatania* 228). It is well known that the members of the Jewish community rarely used Latin in their inscriptions even in the western Mediterranean.¹²¹ I have previously suggested that because the public space in Catania was predominantly Latin, Samohil wanted to enhance the distinction of his family with a Latin epitaph.¹²² This may have been one motivation. But it is also important to note that the text consists mainly of a curse against the eventual violators of the tomb, and the Roman emperors are also referred to.¹²³ The text shows familiarity with a colloquial register of Latin, as is shown by many non-standard spellings that reflect language change. The other often-cited Latin document is the epitaph of Zoe from Cozzo Cicirello (municipality of Acate, RG), probably from the fifth or sixth century.¹²⁴ It comes from an area in which the epitaphs are mostly in Greek. The innovative linguistic features of the text show, in my view, that its makers were not familiar with Latin funerary epigraphy, but certainly with a colloquial register of Latin. Again, an important part of the text

¹²⁰ For F. P. Rizzo (2006: II 1 163), the partial failures of Leo's legation were due to the use of Latin. Leo had difficulties with the Greek translations of his works (see Leo, *Ep.* 131).

¹²¹ The multilingualism of the Sicilian Jews will be discussed in the final section of this chapter.

¹²² See *IMCCatania* 228, with references. ¹²³ See also Millar (1992: 97–9).

¹²⁴ See, in particular, Varvaro (1981: 68–70), Ferrua, *NG* 510, Wilson (1990: 318–19), Manganaro (1993: 589–91), Di Vita (2005: 255–7) and Korhonen (2010: 132), where I present the following reading: *A Super lo/cellu, u/be iaceo e/go, birgo /s nomi/ne Zoe, / anoru / cique<t>a / mesa s, //B aiura/ti per de/ u e infero/s: nemi/šnui lice/at aperir[e] / c<u>pa /<m>. // V S.*

is a curse in protection of the tomb. In the other epitaphs from late Roman Sicily, such warnings are practically unattested.¹²⁵

On the other hand, there can be no doubt about the strong position of Greek in the private religious context in Sicily, as is shown by the magical texts proper. They can be divided into four groups: (1) lead phylacteries, (2) prayers on stone for the protection of fields and crops, (3) prayers on lead tablets, (4) amulets, gems, medallions, rings etc.¹²⁶ Accurate datings are of course difficult, and many late texts could belong to the Byzantine period. The language choice in such documents from Sicily is fairly uniform. If we use Myers-Scotton's (2002: 10–16) useful distinction between *matrix language* and *embedded language*, Greek is always either the matrix language or the only language of the documents in groups (1), (2) and (3); Latin is not attested before the Byzantine period. In all four groups, the texts can contain elements of an embedded language other than Greek that had become a sort of magical jargon.¹²⁷ The texts in group (4), not written for a particular situation, sometimes contain only such jargon. In any case, when the texts were written to request a particular favour from the divinity, Greek was used as the matrix language. In Sicily, the Greek of the magical texts belongs to a fairly colloquial register.¹²⁸

Now, why did the families of Aurelius Samohil and Zoe choose Latin, even when the magical texts were regularly written in Greek? In my view because they considered Latin, the language of the lay law, to be a more efficient tool for protecting the tombs. Whereas the magical texts were addressed directly to the divinities, the two epitaphs must originally have been visible at least to the visitors and to any eventual violator. In neither case can we draw the

¹²⁵ The only instance known to me is *IG XIV 254* = Ferrua (1941: 208–9 no. 83) from Licodia Eubea: εἰ τις δὲ ταύτην ἡδίκησεν καὶ ἐμὲ ἐλύπησεν, μὴ λάθοιτο τὸν θεόν. The text can hardly be later than the third century; the religious identity of the deceased is difficult to establish.

¹²⁶ Bevilacqua (1999: 67). For a survey of the documents, see Bevilacqua (1999); add Bevilacqua and Giannobile (2000), Manganaro (2001: 138–69), Giannobile (2002), Bevilacqua and De Romanis (2005), Giannobile and Jordan (2006), Manganaro Perrone (2007); on the Byzantine documents, see also Korhonen (2010: 130–2).

¹²⁷ A nice example is a prayer from Comiso (*IMCCatania* 235), the purpose of which was to protect the vineyards.

¹²⁸ For the Greek of such magical texts in general, see Curbera and Jordan (2007).

conclusion that Latin was the dominant language in the family, or that Latin had in some way locally superseded Greek.

Literary culture

In Sicily, where little evidence of literate education has surfaced, statements must be based on conjecture. As in the rest of the ancient world, literacy was used for many economic, administrative and literary purposes. However, because of the absence of a proper educational infrastructure, there was notable regional and individual variation in literary skills between individuals.¹²⁹ Cicero implies in passing that the quality of Greek instruction in Marsala and Latin instruction in Sicily as a whole was not high.¹³⁰ It is also likely that literacy was available to some inhabitants of the coastal cities, but more rare in rural areas. With the introduction of Christianity, literacy may have increased to a small extent in the countryside as well.

The Sicilian literary authors known to us datable to the end of the Republic or to the early Imperial period wrote in Greek.¹³¹ They include, in the second half of the first century BC, the historian Diodorus of Agyrion and the Atticist Caecilius (Archagathus?) of Caleacte, who may have been Jewish.¹³² The philosopher Aristocles of Messina apparently belongs to the same period, if he was from the *Messene* of Sicily.¹³³ An interesting figure of Ciceronian times is Sextus Clodius *e Sicilia*, a rhetorician who taught

¹²⁹ W. Harris (1989: 329–32), Woolf (2009: 61–5).

¹³⁰ Cic. *Div. in Caec.* 39 *si litteras Graecas Athenis non Lilybaei, Latinas Romae non in Sicilia didicisses* (the words are addressed to Q. Caecilius Niger); see Varvaro (1981: 38).

¹³¹ Varvaro (1981: 45) mentions two Sicilian authors of this period who wrote in Latin, Calpurnius Siculus and Sex. Iulius Frontinus, but the latter came probably from Narbonese Gaul; see Rodgers (2004: 1). Calpurnius, a more difficult case, belongs to either the Neronian period (see Arrighetti (1980b: 396–7), Townend (1980), N. W. Slater (1994)) or the Severan period (see Champlin (1986)). His transmitted *cognomen* could imply Sicilian origin (thus Arrighetti), but he may also have obtained it because of his literary genre (Champlin, Slater, Townend).

¹³² The only source on Caecilius' original name/*cognomen* and religious identity is *Suda* (K 1165: πρότερον μὲν καλούμενος Ἀρχάγαθος, τὴν δὲ δόξαν Ἰουδαῖος). On Diodorus and Caecilius in the Sicilian context, see Arrighetti (1980b: 398–403).

¹³³ For Aristocles, see Follet (1989) and Brunschwig (1994: 190). The dating proposed in the earlier scholarship is the second century AD, see Arrighetti (1980b: 403).

both Greek and Latin oratory.¹³⁴ No *cognomen* is transmitted for him; if he had none, we could conjecture that he came from a Roman *gens* that had migrated to Sicily from Italy. He seems to have argued against vegetarianism and written a work on gods in Greek.¹³⁵ Sicilian philosophers, of whose writings nothing is known, include an anonymous teacher of Clemens of Alexandria (second century AD) who has sometimes been identified with Pantaenus, and Probus, who taught Porphyry in Marsala in the early third century AD.¹³⁶ The early Imperial library discovered in Taormina gives us some evidence of the study of Greek authors in that city.¹³⁷

In the early Imperial Greco-Roman literature in general, the fifth century BC seems to have been emphasized as an important element for Sicilian identity, as Salmeri (2004: 290–4) has shown.¹³⁸ Whereas the fifth century had witnessed the victories of Syracuse against the Athenians, the Carthaginians and the Etruscans, it was the fatal Athenian expedition to Syracuse (415–413) which attracted the most attention.

As regards Late Antiquity, all one can say is that both Greek and Latin were used. Varvaro (1981: 45–6) suggested that the Sicilian literary authors who wrote in Latin became relatively more numerous as the Imperial period went on, but there is no statistical evidence for such a trend. Among the numerous Greek or Latin authors whose provenance is not known, some could be Sicilians, and the proportions could be inverted. Of persons who really existed, Varvaro's list includes only Firmicus Maternus (fourth century), who was certainly Sicilian, and the author of the *Pervigilium Veneris*, a poem set in Hybla in Sicily. The

¹³⁴ Suet. *Rhet.* 5 (*Sextus Clodius e Sicilia*); many references in Cicero, see Brzoska (1901: 66) and Flamand (1994).

¹³⁵ Arnob. *Nat.* 5.16 (*Sextus Clodius sexto de diis Graeco*); Lact. *Inst.* 1.22.11; cf. Brzoska (1901: 67) and Flamand (1994). The *Sabinus Clodius* in Sen. *Contr.* 9.3.13 appears to be a different person, *pace* Brzoska (1901). Sex. Clodius has been connected with Palermo because the name combination is attested in a libertine family there (*CIL* X 7292 = *IGPalermo* 29, father Sex. *Clodius Hermaclion*), but the argument is weak.

¹³⁶ Clemens describes one of his unnamed Christian teachers as Σικελικὴ μέλιττα 'Sicilian bee' (*Strom.* 1.1.11.2). His identification with Pantaenus (cf. Varvaro (1981: 45–6)) is very dubious, see Neymeyr (1989: 42). For Probus, see Porph. *Plot.* 11. Wilson (1990: 320) also lists Dicaearchus of Messina, who, however, was Aristotle's pupil; see Schneider (1994: 760).

¹³⁷ See Manganaro (1974). ¹³⁸ See also Mellor (2008: 124).

author's identity is disputed and provenance uncertain.¹³⁹ On the Greek side, the names that can be mentioned are Citharius from Syracuse, who taught Greek rhetoric to Ausonius (Auson. *Comm. prof.* 13), and Timotheus, a philosopher whose epitaph has been discovered in Syracuse;¹⁴⁰ their writings do not survive. Last but not least, one should not forget the emergence of a new genre, hagiography, which still ranked below poetry and theology. Our knowledge of the earliest versions of these texts and their authors is not extensive. The earliest Sicilian hagiographical writings can be dated to the fourth or fifth century; the use of both Greek and Latin is attested.¹⁴¹ The *virī divites et eruditi omni doctrina, Graeca quoque et Latina* of Sicily, mentioned by the author of a geographical work, remain anonymous.¹⁴²

What kind of a multilingual society was Sicily in the Imperial period?

In this section, I intend to analyse the Sicilian sociolinguistic situation as a whole and provide parallels from other societies. Classic studies on bilingualism have considered the following factors to be important for language maintenance, shift and attrition in any society: (1) numerical strength of the group in relation

¹³⁹ Two poets have been especially popular author candidates for the *Pervigilium Veneris*: Florus (second century) and Tiberianus (fourth century). For the former, see Schilling (1944: XXII–XXXI) and Formicola (1998: 55 n. 147), with refs.; for the latter, Cameron (1984: 217–31) and Currie (1993: 223–4). R. Rizzo (1997–8: 80–1) argues unconvincingly for Claudian. Other scholars have preferred to leave the author anonymous; the poem is usually dated to either the second century (Formicola (1998: 54–65) or the fourth or the fifth century (Shanzer (1990: 307–8), Barnes (1991: 350), Kunz (2006: 232)). Be that as it may, the Sicilian setting is the only argument for the provenance of the poet. On the genesis of the invented author Flavius Vopiscus ‘from Syracuse’ (*Historia Augusta*), see Paschoud (2008: 57–61).

¹⁴⁰ Timotheus: Orsi (1896: 29 no. 45); cf. Varvaro (1981: 46 n. 2); Ferrua, *NG* 131.

¹⁴¹ The most ancient Greek version of the *martyrion* of Lucia, possibly written in Syracuse, is datable to the fifth century: see Rossi Taibbi (1959: 23) and Milazzo and Rizzo Nervo (1988: 99). The author of the *Martyrium* of Euplus, who died in AD 304, evidently used the original documents of the trial; see Franchi de’ Cavalieri (1928: 2–5). The earliest version of the *passio* of Agatha may have been in Latin, see F. P. Rizzo (2006: II 1 12); according to Rossi Taibbi (1959: 22–3), the *passio* of Lucia was translated into Latin in the late fifth or early sixth century (although it is difficult to say where).

¹⁴² *Expositio totius mundi et gentium* 65: [Sicilia] habet viros divites et eruditos omni doctrina, Graeca quoque et Latina.

to other minorities and majorities; (2) social class; (3) religious and educational background; (4) settlement patterns; (5) ties with the homeland; (6) degree of similarity between the minority and the majority language; (7) extent of exogamous marriage; (8) attitudes of majority and minority; (9) government policy towards language and education of minorities; (10) patterns of language use.¹⁴³ Many of the factors have already been discussed.

At this point, it is necessary to summarize the results of the previous sections. In early Imperial times, the position of Greek was based on a sizeable speech community and on the continued prestige of the language in literary culture and religion. The Greek communities were well connected with other Greek speakers of the eastern Mediterranean. The situation continued in Late Antiquity, although the relative proportion of the Greek speakers may have decreased. On the other hand, Greek also began to enjoy some prestige in the domain of administration. The position of Latin depended on the extensive speech communities in the Roman colonies and on the prestige of Latin especially in the administration and among the land-owning class. There were good connections between the Latin speech communities in Sicily and in Africa and Italy. By late Imperial times, the relative proportion of Latin speakers had probably grown through immigration from the surrounding areas where Latin was dominant, especially Africa. The prestige of Latin may have increased in the field of religion, too.

Settlement and household patterns and multilingualism

The Roman Empire is traditionally divided into predominantly Latin and predominantly Greek areas, with the linguistic frontier running through the Balkans and between Cyrenaica and Tripolitania.¹⁴⁴ The whole of Sicily seems to be in such a border zone, and one should not define the western part as Latin, or the eastern part as Greek.

Settlement patterns have sociolinguistic consequences. From the late Middle Ages until the twentieth century, Greek and Albanian

¹⁴³ Romaine (1995: 40). The numbering has been added.

¹⁴⁴ Kaimio (1979: 86–9).

were limited to small areas in Southern Italy and Sicily, and a conservative Romance variant was maintained in the 'Lausberg zone'.¹⁴⁵ However, it is suggested here that the role and extent of unilingual areas in early Imperial Sicily was fairly marginal. When the predominant language across the island was still Greek, there may have been some practically unilingual areas on the inland and the small islands, after the other languages had become extinct – the epigraphic evidence from Lipari is an illustrative example (see above, p. 331). There were also Punic-speaking smaller areas or centres. By AD 200, Punic was present only in small immigrant communities,¹⁴⁶ and the use of Latin had increased. There could be unilingual Greek rural areas in remote corners, but, due to settlement patterns and the nature of households, it seems less likely that unilingual Latin zones had formed.

The Greek and Latin 'communities' were not separate, but many Sicilians were bilingual. The Roman colonies had been established in previously inhabited places, and even when the earlier inhabitants had been forced away, they may have returned soon. In every centre that has produced a decent amount of epigraphic material, both Greek and Latin are attested. Whereas different religious identities could signify separate places of burial,¹⁴⁷ linguistic identities did not. Our most accurate knowledge of the use of Greek and Latin in a cemetery comes from Syracuse because the find-spots of most of the epitaphs published since Paolo Orsi have been documented. My analysis of the locations of Greek and Latin epitaphs in the San Giovanni catacomb produced no patterns: there were apparently no 'Greek wings' in the catacomb. Furthermore, both Greek and Latin could be used in the epitaphs of the same family, as in the family of Claudius Theseus in Messina.¹⁴⁸ On the other hand, there are very few bilingual inscriptions: evidently those who could read inscriptions were competent in both Greek and Latin alphabets and epigraphic language.

¹⁴⁵ The 'Lausberg zone' is on the borders of modern Calabria and Lucania, see Dardano (1999: 9).

¹⁴⁶ Some of the newcomers with African Latin names discussed above, like *Cresconius* or *Donatus*, are likely to have been competent in both Latin and Punic.

¹⁴⁷ See Rutgers (1997: 255) for the separate burials of the Jews.

¹⁴⁸ Korhonen (2011b: 16).

That bilingualism was common in Sicily is also likely because children probably had better opportunities to learn the two languages ‘at home’. Roman households (*familiae*) were generally larger than in many industrialized or post-industrial societies. Three generations were regularly included within the same household, and slaves or dependent workers and their nuclear families were not only part of the well-to-do, but also of many poorer *familiae*.¹⁴⁹ This did not mean that each child (at least a free-born one) did not have a primary nuclear family of her/his own. However, as I have suggested (Korhonen 2011b: 12), the situation may have favoured native bilingualism. It is known that native-like acquisition of a language is difficult after the ‘critical period’ of childhood,¹⁵⁰ after which the development of bilingualism depends on the networks of which people are members, and on community size. It is likely that many Sicilians acquired Greek and Latin through personal interaction. The historian Diodorus describes his acquisition of Latin as follows: ‘by reason of our contact (ἑπικοινωνία) with the Romans in that island we had gained a wide acquaintance with their language’.¹⁵¹ This happened in the mid-first century BC, and when Latin speakers became more numerous, such contact became more common.

The conditions that favoured bilingualism were present both in the cities and in the countryside, especially after the large estates had formed, and contacts between speakers of Greek and Latin took place on a daily basis. The significance of instruction in second language acquisition may have been significantly lower. The level of Latin instruction in Sicily was obviously not high in the earliest period (see previous section); later, Latin instruction must have been available at least in the Roman colonies for those who could afford it. However, as in the Greek East in general, Latin was not part of the Greek literary curriculum but was studied by some individuals because the language had its uses.¹⁵²

The strong ties with the ‘homeland’ (cf. above, p. 361), or, in our case, with the other Greek- and Latin-speaking areas, were

¹⁴⁹ Dixon (1992: 1–10). ¹⁵⁰ See DeKeyser and Larson-Hall (2005).

¹⁵¹ D.S. 1.4.4, trans. C. H. Oldfather. On Diodorus’ knowledge of Latin, see most recently Rochette (1997: 231).

¹⁵² For the Greek East, see Rochette (1997: 165–210).

another important factor in the maintenance of Greek and Latin. In this respect, the situation of the Roman colonies in the Greek East, or especially of some colonies founded by Europeans in distant lands in modern times, was different, and contributed to the decline of the colonists' languages there. The contacts with the city of Rome probably played an important role both in the maintenance of Latin and in the adoption of new features;¹⁵³ moreover, the significance of Africa should not be underestimated. Likewise, in the maintenance and development of Greek, the ties of its speakers with the other Greek communities in the East and in Rome played an important role.

I do not suggest that we should see the Roman Imperial period as a whole as homogeneous. As regards demographic change, the significance of immigration from the surrounding predominantly Latin areas in Late Antiquity has been emphasized. In my view it is possible that new unilingual communities and zones began to form in the same period. In a case where the speakers of language A immigrate to a community composed of the speakers of language B, a small group of newcomers probably shifts to language B, but for a larger group, the shift does not necessarily take place.¹⁵⁴ The newcomers do not need to be in a numerical majority in the community, in particular if language A has a dominant position in the realm. When the group is large enough, there is less need for its members to even learn language B or marry its speakers. Thus, the newcomers remain unilingual; in the course of time, the speakers of language B may shift to language A.¹⁵⁵ This is what probably happened in western and northern Sicily during the course of the Imperial period. In communities like Marsala or Palermo, and maybe in the countryside as well, unilingual Latin communities were formed – a probable representative was the bishop Paschasinus (see above, p. 355). It is of course unlikely that such processes caused the entire Sicilian population to shift to Latin – smaller and larger Greek communities evidently

¹⁵³ See Adams (2007: 18–20). ¹⁵⁴ See Thomason and Kaufman (1988: 122–3).

¹⁵⁵ For similar developments in early modern Europe and methodological issues, see Knooihuizen and Dediú (forthcoming). I wish to thank Remco Knooihuizen and Dan Dediú for the opportunity to consult the article.

survived – but the role of individual bilingualism may have decreased and some villages and areas become unilingual.

It is not surprising that the surviving written evidence from the Imperial period has not transmitted to us any particularly Sicilian features of the local Greek and Latin. Some local idiosyncrasies can be found in the epigraphic cultures.¹⁵⁶ Koineization processes must have taken place in the spoken varieties. In Greek, this had happened during the Hellenistic and late Republican periods (see [Chapter 8](#)). The Latin-speaking newcomers probably did not form coherent dialectal groups from the start. In such a situation, the speakers of slightly different variants accommodated their speech and a new local ‘koine’ was born, which was then also influenced by the other languages spoken locally.¹⁵⁷ For the spread of linguistic phenomena, one can suspect that hierarchical diffusion, in which innovations leap from the largest urban centres (in our case, the ports) via smaller towns to the countryside was more common than contagious diffusion, which takes place in waves via social networks.¹⁵⁸ On the other hand, the degree of urbanization must also be taken into account. As I have pointed out, the Sicilian population during the period discussed here was mainly rural, and the towns were small according to modern standards. As regards the sociolinguistics of modern cities, Labov (2001: 42–3) has claimed that in understanding cities with fewer than 100,000 inhabitants, the surrounding countryside must be taken into account. Even when we evaluate the sociolinguistic developments of the largest Sicilian cities, Syracuse and Catania, the position of Latin in the cities was certainly influenced by the use of both Greek and Latin in the countryside.

In the Imperial period, languages other than Greek or Latin diffused to Sicily mainly through the movement of individuals and families. A less significant factor was the use of other languages in religious cults, which could influence the lexicon of individual speakers, but could hardly cause language shift. Given the central position of Sicily, many languages must have been present, but

¹⁵⁶ See Korhonen (2011b: 17–20).

¹⁵⁷ See, in general, Kerswill (2002: 679–98) and Kerswill and Trudgill (2005: 196–202); for Roman colonization, see Adams (2007: 21–7).

¹⁵⁸ Taeldeman (2005: 263).

a comprehensive discussion will not be attempted here. Personal names that are not Greek, Latin or Semitic are rare.¹⁵⁹ There is some evidence of two Semitic languages, Hebrew and Syriac, although very few actual texts in these languages survive from Sicily. Hebrew was used by the Jewish communities. Despite the language choice in the epitaph of Aurelius Samohil discussed above, it is likely that the common pattern of bilingualism among the Jews of Sicily was Greek–Hebrew: Greek was used in the familiar domains and Hebrew in the religious context. Such a bilingualism of course did not prevent the use of other languages. Evidence of Jewish communities has surfaced in many locations, especially in the south-eastern part of the island, but also in the west.¹⁶⁰ The only dated item is the epitaph discussed above, from AD 383, but some Greek inscriptions may be a century earlier. It is interesting that the Semitic names *Anna*, *Martha* and *Marion* are attested in Lipari in epitaphs that apparently do not belong to the Jewish religious context.¹⁶¹

Newcomers from Syria are attested in pagan inscriptions in Messina and Palermo, and in Christian inscriptions in Syracuse.¹⁶² In the western Mediterranean their pagan epitaphs were mostly in Latin, and Christian epitaphs in Greek. It is interesting that of all the people whose provenance is indicated in ancient Christian epitaphs, Syrians form by far the largest group,¹⁶³ and this is the case in Sicily, too. The explanation must be connected to the epigraphic habit, as it does not seem that the Syrians were much

¹⁵⁹ For some such names from Lipari, see Korhonen (2011b: 14); in Christian inscriptions, Ferrua, *NG* 48, 94, 110 and 392. Cf. Αἰσαρίης Σατταράς (*IGLMessina* 41, Korhonen (2011b: 30 n. 108)); *T. Flavius Gannamali f. Ganamio(n)* from Syracuse (mentioned on p. 337).

¹⁶⁰ See Rutgers (1997: 255). For the epigraphic evidence, see Solin (1983: 746–7), with the following remarks: *IG* XIV 461 and 543 are probably from Rome (see *IMCCatania* 363 and 364); the decoration of the inscription *NSA* 1880: 36 from Taormina should rather be interpreted as a cross (Ferrua, *NG* 474) than a *menorah* (so Manganaro (1961: 197) and Solin (1983: 746 no. 1)). The mention of ἡμέ(ρα) Σαβ(βά)τ(ου) is not distinctive. For Enna, see Curbera (1996).

¹⁶¹ *IGLLipari* 428, 450 and 451.

¹⁶² The most reliable list of Syrians in Sicily is Solin (1983: 748); add Ζόδωρος ἀπὸ Μακρήϊς Κώμης (*IG* XIV 117, cf. Feissel (1982: 340–1)) and Σαλατε Πορφυρονίτης (Ferrua (1946–7: 236 no. 40); cf. Feissel (1982: 339–40)). On the emigration of Syrians in general, see Solin (1983: 779, 783).

¹⁶³ Avraméa (1995: 17).

more on the move than other cultural or ethnic groups. The Syriac language is not attested in the surviving documents. Abdalas, a chief shepherd (*magister ovium*) of the imperial livestock, whose epitaph was found on the eastern Sicilian inland, must also have been a speaker of a Semitic language; he probably came from Arabia, Nabataea or Syria.¹⁶⁴

In all, the evidence points to several centuries of fairly stable bilingualism in Sicily. There may have been a fairly equal incentive for people to learn both languages, especially in the east, but also in the western and northern coastal cities. Because both languages enjoyed a certain prestige, the Greek–Latin divide was not a clear marker of social status. This facilitated contacts even in a society with a rigid social hierarchy. Still, the higher prestige of Latin in administration was at times a factor that may have advanced language shift among the socially aspiring.

Parallels from other societies

In this final part, I shall compare the sociolinguistic situation of Sicily with some other areas of the Roman world and try to find further parallels from other societies. In the section where the Sicilian onomastics was discussed extensively, I pointed out many characteristics that connect late Roman Syracuse with the city of Rome. Obviously, in Rome the position of Latin was overwhelmingly more dominant than in Syracuse. The similarities rather illustrate the Christian communities in both cities: the role of Greek had been important, mainly for demographic reasons but also because of language choices in the earliest Christian tradition. As time passed, Latin became more common in both epitaphs and personal names, as well as in other linguistic domains.

Sicily in the Imperial period has characteristics of different types of modern multilingualism. Modern multilingual contexts often represent either border-area multilingualism, or a (former) colonial setting, or multilingualism caused by migration into urban centres.¹⁶⁵ In these cases, one language usually has a dominant role in government, education, media and/or commerce. In a way,

¹⁶⁴ Salmeri (1984: 13–14). ¹⁶⁵ See Matras (2009: 47–50).

Roman Sicily represents border-area multilingualism between the predominantly Greek and Latin areas of the Empire,¹⁶⁶ but no part of the island was probably unilingual. Another interesting situation for our purposes is the bilingualism of native elites, attested for instance in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Russia, where the Russian-speaking nobility adopted French.¹⁶⁷ This was based almost exclusively on the prestige of the language and did not involve a significant migratory movement of French speakers, except tutors and governesses. The Russian context of course reminds one more of the adoption of Latin in the western parts of the Roman Empire, but also in the cities of western Sicily which had not been Hellenized. The difference here is that French was abandoned in the twentieth century.

Of colonial or post-colonial settings, India and East Africa provide interesting parallels. Sicily could be compared to India during Company rule (eighteenth and nineteenth centuries). English was introduced as the administrative language into a complex system in which both written and spoken forms of indigenous languages were used in administrative, religious and other contexts. It also gained a role in education, partly because it came to be used as a *lingua franca* between many indigenous languages.¹⁶⁸ However, there was no single 'second' language in India as in Sicily where the communities used Greek as a *lingua franca*. Another post-colonial parallel could be the situation in modern Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda, where Swahili, a regional *lingua franca*, appears alongside English in administration, education and media. Linked on the one hand with the Arabic world, Islamic religion and its prestige, Swahili on the other hand does not enjoy the high status of English in the context of administration.¹⁶⁹ There are of course also significant differences between ancient Sicily and modern East Africa. Firstly, the degree of similarity was higher

¹⁶⁶ A classic case of border-area multilingualism is Oberwart, a Hungarian-German community near the modern border of Austria and Hungary; see Romaine (1995: 47–50, with references).

¹⁶⁷ This type of a bilingual society is mentioned by Muysken (2000: 222).

¹⁶⁸ See Kachru (1983: 18–23, 67–9).

¹⁶⁹ Simango (2006: 1965–8); Matras (2009: 49).

between Greek and Latin than between English and Swahili. Secondly, besides English and/or Swahili, most people are competent in a third, indigenous language. From a diachronic point of view, the most important difference is that there is no large or expanding English-speaking group comparable to the speakers of Latin in Sicily.

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GENERAL INDEX

- Acrae, 25, 199
 Acron of Agrigentum, 249
 Aeolian islands, 6, 8
 Agathocles, 228
 Agrigentum, 313, 327, 329
 Akragas (*see also* Agrigentum), 126, 200
 Alcman, 269, 271, 272, 273–8, 286
 Alexandria, 266, 270, 280, 281–2
 Alfius, 93
alpha siculum, 71, 73
Antiatticist, 252–4, 255, 258, 261, 263
 Antiochus of Syracuse, 53, 62, 280
 Archestratus of Gela, 287
 Aristophanes of Byzantium, 252
 Augustus (and Octavian), 299, 300
 Ausonian culture, 8

 Bernabò Brea, Luigi, 5, 8
 bilingualism, 4, 21, 37, 74, 291, 293,
 295–6, 322, 360, 361–7

 Caecilius of Caleacte, 358
 Caesar, 299
 calque, 311, 313, 314–15, 321
 Camarina, 23, 25, 36, 86, 199, 309
 Carthage (role in Sicily), 29, 115, 125, 228
 Casmenae, 25, 199
 Castiglione di Ragusa, 22, 25, 26
 ‘Castiglione warrior’, 26, 36, 88
 Catania, 193, 300, 329, 339, 356
 Centuripe, 9, 64
 Chalcidians (in Sicily), 22
 Charondas, 43
 Cicero, 319, 358
 coinage in Sicily, 162–4, 182–6, 187
 colonial culture (of Sicily), 16, 39, 41, 287
 colonialism (modern), 19
 colonization (Greek), 10, 12, 17–20, 23,
 31, 50, 57, 149
 Cyrenaean, 269

 dialects (of modern Sicily), 50, 324
 diglossia, 42, 74, 227, 248, 295
 digraphism, 315–16
 Diodorus of Agyrion (Diodorus Siculus),
 358
 Dionysius I, 227
 Dionysius of Halicarnassus, 58, 63, 64
 Dinolochus, 252, 256, 258, 262
 Dorians (in Sicily), 22
 Doric comedy, 251–2, 258
 Doric dialect in Sicily, 18, 40, 57, 191,
 193, 198–221, 225, 249, 251,
 254–6, 262–4, 305
 ‘Doric koina’, 41, 193, 223, 230–4,
 238–9, 245–9, 282
 Ducetius, 57, 59
 Dunbabin, T. J., 22

 Elymian, 66, 95, 96, 111–14, 164, 176,
 177
 coin legends, 96, 109, 111, 176–9
 inscriptions, 97–100, 110
 morphology, 112–13
 onomastics, 113, 154–61
 phonology, 111–12
 Elymians (*see also* Ἐλυμιοί), 24, 27, 29, 55,
 95, 177
 Elymian area, 30, 31, 95, 114
 material culture, 30
 name of, 56
 origin of, 29, 56, 61
 use of the Greek alphabet, 22, 31, 79,
 100–11
 beta, 107–9
 ‘reversed *ny*’, 109–10
 Empedocles, 39, 66
 Entella, 92, 95
 Entella tables, 37, 44, 140, 141, 145
 Epicharmus, 39, 40, 66, 89, 251, 252, 253,
 255, 256, 258, 261, 267, 274

- epigraphy and inscriptions (in Sicily), 42,
43, 44, 74, 198
contracts, 240–2
curse tablets (and *defixiones*), 44, 77,
243–4, 248, 305
epigraphic culture, 43, 323, 324, 365
funerary, 32, 34, 43, 44, 295, 310, 320,
339–47, 354
in the Hellenistic age, 44, 196, 244, 245,
296–7, 298–9
in the native languages, 59, 70–4
in the Roman age, 33, 229–30, 293–4,
299–302, 309, 312–13, 319–20,
322, 331, 348
magical, 357–8
metrical, 45
private, 34, 73, 110, 198, 225, 240, 319,
324, 352
public, 32, 34, 42, 44, 198, 225, 231,
247, 296, 298, 304, 324, 350
Eryx, 28, 29, 95, 124, 125, 176, 181
Eudoxus, 134, 136
- Firmicus Maternus, 359
- Gela, 49, 86, 200, 201, 217
Gela (river), 24, 135, 167
Gelon, 27
Gorgias, 39, 287
graphic influence, 309, 340, 346. *See*
also graphic interference
graphic interference, 321
Grassmann's Law, 208
Greek in Sicily
 allegro pronunciation, 216
 athematic dative plural ending in -εσσι,
 18, 210, 217, 221, 231, 233, 267
 athematic infinitive ending in -μενι, 18,
 215, 232
 conjugation in -ώω, 231
 dialect convergence, 2, 18, 217–19, 222,
 224
 dialect levelling, 226, 233–4, 246
 fricativization, 216
 hyperdialectalisms, 248
 intradialectal differentiation, 215–19
 Latin influence on, 249, 255, 317, 351
 mitior (Doric) vocalism, 18, 217–18,
 268, 269, 273, 276
 perfect with present endings, 232
 post-classical, 224–6
 spirantization of /t^h/ and /p^h/, 209
 vs Latin in Roman Sicily, 34, 35, 291–2,
 296, 300, 301, 303, 304, 319–25,
 339–41, 350, 352–3, 354–9, 361
Grotta Regina, 123
- Hebrew (in Sicily), 366
Hellanicus of Lesbos, 53, 62, 95
Hellenization, 28, 32, 59, 60, 94
Hesychius, 65, 69, 80
Hiero I, 283
Hiero II, 33, 44, 228
Himera, 57, 193, 194
Hippocrates, 26
Hybla, 5, 25
hybridity, 16, 20–2, 27, 35, 38, 39, 40, 286,
287
- Ionic dialect in Sicily, 57, 191, 192, 193–7
- koine, 225, 226, 229, 235–7, 239, 244,
246–8, 251, 253, 254–6, 262–4
koineisms, 245, 247, 248, 251, 252
koineization, 226, 365
Kokalos, 11
- Lanuvium, 63
Latin in Sicily, 34, 291–2, 304, 307–9,
324, 334, 348, 350, 353, 356–7,
361. *See also* under Greek in Sicily
Latinization, 32, 335
Lentini, 6, 8, 23, 58, 193
Lilybaeum, 34, 118, 121, 128, 305, 306,
308
literary culture (of Sicily), 16, 38–42, 45,
182, 284–8, 358–60
- Mamercus, 93, 94, 139
Mamertini (and Mamertines), 91, 92, 93,
146, 147, 228
Megara Hyblaea, 199
Mendolito di Adrano, 9, 73, 78
mercenaries, 51, 60, 87, 91–4, 138–9, 141,
145, 146, 147, 299, 309
mercenary coinage, 186
Messana (*see also* Zancle), 91, 138, 140,
141, 146, 321

- migration (linguistic evidence for), 329–47
- Milqart, 116
- Mithaecus of Syracuse, 249, 287
- Molino della Badia, 6, 8, 10
- Montagna di Marzo, 71, 78, 86
- Morgantina, 6
- morphological influence, 303
- Motya, 16, 28, 118, 119, 128, 129
- multilingualism, 4, 35, 296, 316, 367–9
- Mycenaeans (in Sicily), 11, 12, 13
- Nakone, 92, 142, 145
- Naxos, 193
- network, 7, 11, 15
- onomastics, 36, 37, 366, 367
as evidence for bi- and multilingualism,
21, 35–8, 85–9, 150–61, 305–7,
341–6
indigenous, 59, 74, 77, 82–6, 150–61
Latin nomenclature, 38, 306, 336–8
See also under individual languages
- Ortygia, 20, 23
- Oscan, 132, 135, 139
onomastics, 140–5
texts from Sicily, 139–41
- Oscans, 37
- ownership formulas, 76, 177, 178
- Palermo, 28, 119, 122, 300, 319
- Panormos (and Panormus), *see* Palermo
- Pantalica, 5, 7, 8
- Paschasinus of Marsala, 355
- peninsular influence on Sicily, 8, 9
- Pervigilium Veneris*, 359
- Philistus of Syracuse, 53, 58, 62, 280
- Phoenician, 17, 115–17, 126–9
coin legends, 180
morphology, 128
onomastics, 121–2, 129
phonology, 127–8
syntax, 128–9
- Phoenicians, 11, 14–17, 27, 117
inscriptions of, 119
linguistic open-mindedness of, 16
scripts, 117, 129–30
- Pisani, Vittore, 66
- post-colonial studies, 19, 20, 25
- precolonization, 11, 14
- Probus, 359
- protocolonization, 11, 14
- Punics
inscriptions of, 119, 123, 130
language of, 115, 126, 130, 317, 318
presence in Sicily, 29, 124, 125, 126,
306, 307, 317, 320–1, 362–4
- Ragusa, 20
- regional diversification, 35
- Romanization, 31–5, 298
- S. Angelo Muxaro, 9
- S. Margherita Belice, 10
- Sabellian languages, 78, 80, 81, 82, 83,
85
- Salso river, 24
- Samnites, 92, 135
- Sciri, 25, 74
- Segesta, 28, 29, 64, 95, 125, 176, 314,
315
- Selinous, 28, 36, 37, 85, 105, 125, 198,
199, 202
- Sextus Clodius (rhetorician), 358
- Sextus Pompeius, 299
- Shadrappa, 123
- Sicanian, 24, 66, 71, 72, 164, 165
place names, 25, 164–6
- Sicans, 7, 24, 55, 61, 65
inscriptions of, 71, 72, 73, 164
material culture of, 9, 72
origin of, 56, 60–5
See also Σικανός, Σικανοί
- Sicel, 24, 66, 67, 77, 164, 166
anaptyxis, 80
aspirate consonants, 75
fricativization, 169
influence from Greek, 74–7
place names, 167–70
spirantization, 69, 79
vocalism, 80
voiced stops, 79, 170, 173
- Sicels, 6, 55, 61, 65
inscriptions of, 71, 72
material culture of, 9, 72
origin of, 56, 60–5, 86
‘Sicel invasion’ of Sicily, 6, 7, 8
use of the Greek alphabet, 21, 79
See also Σικελός, Σικελοί

GENERAL INDEX

- Sicily
 alphabetic varieties of, 18, 194, 201–2, 235
 dialectal map of, 18
 east, 23–7, 301, 354
 Hellenistic, 33, 41, 44, 45, 227, 249, 292, 297
 in the Bronze Age, 5
 in the Christian era, 353–8
 in the early Empire, 292, 300–2, 327, 330, 347–9, 352
 in the late Empire, 35, 323, 327, 338–47, 349–51
 prehistoric, 5
 Roman, 32, 33, 38, 229, 303, 322, 326, 327–69
 west, 27–31, 34, 37, 201, 301, 302, 305, 308, 312, 320
 slave trade, 332
 Soluntum, 28, 124
 Sophron, 66, 252, 253, 256, 267
 Stesichorus, 39, 91, 286
 Strabo, 135
 Syracusan dialect, 267, 268, 269
 Syracuse, 23, 25, 26, 34, 40, 41, 199, 227, 280, 281–4, 300, 301, 304, 311, 328, 337, 339, 341, 342, 344, 346, 362
 Syriac (in Sicily), 367
 Tauromenion, 300, 334
pinakes of, 63
 Telestes of Syracuse, 45
 Thapsos, 4, 7, 10, 11, 12
 Theocritus, 41, 284
 language of, 266, 270, 271, 272, 273–8
 Thermae Himerae, 300, 312, 334
 Thucydides, 53, 61
 Timaeus of Tauromenion, 58, 280
 Timoleon, 228
 Tyndaris, 300
 Vallet, Georges, 22
 writing in Sicily, 49, 59, 73. *See also under individual peoples and languages*
 Zancle (*see also* Messana), 56, 68, 167, 184–6, 193

INDEX OF WORDS IN OTHER LANGUAGES

Greek

Note: spelling of words quoted in Chapters 7 and 8 (which cite dialectal words without diacritics) has been normalized to follow common practice.

- Αἴτην, 79, 173
 ἀλίασμα, 232, 234
 ἀνάδεξαι, 258–9
 ἀνάκλιτος, 314
 ἀνεξία, 248
 ἀνυπόδετος, 257–8, 263
 ἄρβιννη, 68
 ἄυσονες, 64
 αὐταυτάν, 211
 αὐτόντα, 232

 βασιλίσσα, 253
 βόλιμος, 221
 βουνός, 254

 Γαλερία, 179
 γεγράβεται, 213
 γέλα, 135, 167
 γενηθῆναι, 251
 γέρρα, 68

 δεοῦμαι, 261, 263
 *δικάομαι, 213
 Διονύσιος, 344
 Δουκέτιος, 83

 ἐκποιῆσαι, 259, 263
 Ἐλαιλίνος, 89
 Ἔλυμοι, 55, 56
 ἐνεδρεία (and ἐνέδρα), 253, 260, 264
 ἔνο, 213
 ἔστωσαν, 215

 ζάνκλον, 68, 70, 90, 168–70

 ἡμίνα, 263
 ἡμιούγκιον, 259

 Ἡρακλῆς, 69, 75
 Ἡρύκαλος, 69–70, 81

 Ἰταλία, 50
 Ἰταλιῆτες, 62
 Ἰταλιώται, 50

 κακεντρεχής, 260
 Καλή Ἀκτή, 57
 Καμπανοί, 87, 92
 κλεπτέναι, 195
 κομίω, 213

 Λατίνος, 86
 Λευκανά, 86, 94
 Λίγυες, 64
 λίτρα, 67, 79, 170–6, 254–6, 263
 λιτροσκόπος, 255
 Λογγώνη, 179

 Μεγάλη Ἑλλάς, 50
 Μεσσανίων, 184, 185, 195
 Μοργῆτες, 62, 63
 μυλλός, 68

 νίδες, 68
 νόμος, 67

INDEX OF WORDS IN OTHER LANGUAGES

Οίνωτροί, 62, 64
 Όπικανός, 87
 Όπικοί, 60, 87
 όπ(π)ικίζω, 136
 ούγκία (and όγκία), 67, 174, 255–6, 259,
 263

ούίτουλος, 90

παράκαιρος, 259–60, 263

πεδά, 212

Πελοποννασισί, 280

πιττάκιον, 260

πόλτος, 68

ποτείη, 214

ποτεντίθημι, 220

προάγορος, 248

Πυρρίνος, 88

πώμαλα, 254

Ραϊκός, 68–9

Σεγεσταίων/Έγεσταίων, 178

Σικανία, 54

Σικανίη, 51, 52

Σικανός, Σικανοί, 52, 53, 54, 55, 61, 86

Σικελία, 50, 52

Σικελιῶται, 50, 52, 53, 57

Σικελός, Σικελοί, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 61, 63

Σίκων, 53

Σίλερσάιοι, 87

σύν, 317

Συρακόσιος, 179

σωννύω, 262, 263, 264

τήνει, 221

Τυρρηνοί, 87

Latin

Anastasia, Anastasius, 342

Aretaius, 315

bilinguis, 136, 291

bolona, 311

Cyriaceus, Cyriacus, 342

dei forenses, 315

duumviris, 313

euergeta, 314

Eusebius, 342

Felix, 344

flamen, 313

Ianuaris, 344

nummus, 67

O(b)scus, 134–5

Opici, 132, 134–8, 146, 147

opicus, 134

platea, 314

Sicanus, Sicani, 52

Siculus, Siculi, 52, 63

Tarichinus, 311

Theoduleus, Theodulos, 342

trilinguis, 291

Oscan

dekis, 142

gnaivs, 142

kaísilli-, 142

kiípiis, 142, 143

maamiis, 144

mamerttiais, 139

Minaz Kúrviis, 140

Οππιος, 144

pakis, 142

Πακκιος, 144

ύppiis, 142

Phoenician and Punic

ʾGRGNT, 126

ʾRK, 124, 180

INDEX OF WORDS IN OTHER LANGUAGES

BAHANNO, 126	MTNT, 120, 128
GRT, 124	MTW', 180
ḤMLKT, 122	NDR, 128
KPR', 180	QL', 127
L'Š, 123	RŠ MLQRT, 180
MḤNT, 180	ŠYS, 123, 177, 180
MḤŠBM, 180	
MLK, MLKT, 120	'BD/'PD, 124
MNG, 123	'BDB'L, 122
MSPT/NSPT, 126	'KBR, 122

Sicilian native languages

Note: spelling follows that adopted by the individual authors of the chapters

ἸΙοτυλαιντε[, 110	Φολτικά, 111
αβεσακεδ, 82	Ζοξτα, 155
ακαρα-, 82	Ἰταλο, 83, 86
Ακκα, 83	
ανκδερ, 112	καιρε, 75
Ἄπελος, 54, 88	κιτών, 75
Αππειραιος, 160	Κυκνιες, 76, 77, 81
Αραδτες, 77	Κύπρα (and variants), 80, 83
αρακακαμι, 86	κύτρα, 75
αρυσταιναμ, 76	
Ἄτος, 155	Μαρες, 83
ατροι, 111	Ματύλαιος, 81
	μετιααι, 160
γεπεδ, 79, 81	
Βοτυλος, 156	Ναν(ν)ελαιος, 156, 157, 158
	Νενδας, Νε(ν)δαι, 74, 75, 84, 85, 159
δουηνα, 111	
δυρομ, 76	πιβε, 75
εμι, 112, 113, 177	πιποκεδ, 82
Ερικαζιβ/Ιρικαβιζ, 112, 176, 178	ποτερομ, 76
Ευρυμακες, 75, 84	πρααρειεν, 82
	Πρατομακες, 75, 77, 79, 84
Φερεγαies, 82	Πυκέλειος, 81, 155, 156
	Πυτίκκας, 75

INDEX OF WORDS IN OTHER LANGUAGES

Φλοπετιονος, 74, 84

ροκες (and variants), 77,
84

Ρότυλος, 81, 88

Σαβατ-, 113

σαρ[..]αῖαρ, 112

Σαρις, 155

σεγεσταζία, σεγεσταζιβ, σεγεσταζιε, 109,
110, 112, 176, 178

Σκύτας, 75

τεβεγ, 79

Τίτελος, 54, 81, 88, 113, 154

τουτο-, 82

INDEX LOCORUM

Editor's note: because of space constraints references to epigraphic and literary texts cited only in the notes have not been included, unless they were considered crucial to the discussion.

Aelian

VH 10.18, 285

Antiatticist

82.16, 256, 257–8

82.29, 256, 258–9

83.28, 256

84.26–7, 252

85.24, 256

90.3, 256, 261

93.25, 256, 259

95.27–8, 253, 256, 260

98.32, 256

98.33, 256, 259

99.1, 256

105.19, 256, 260

105.32, 256

110.22, 256

112.6, 257, 259–60

112.28, 257, 260

112.29, 257

113.14, 257

114.5, 257, 262

Antiochus of Syracuse

FGH 555 F 2, 62

Apuleius

Met. 11.5.22 Helm, 291

Aristoteles

Mete. 359b, 52

Pol. 1329b, 134

Cassius Hemina

fr. 2, 63

fr. 3, 63

CEG 147, 26

Cicero

Verr. 5.83, 64

CIL

I² 2219, 303

I² 2224, 310

I² 3429, 303

X 7121, 310

X 7265, 303

X 7296, 316

X 7297, 336

CIS I

122, 116

122bis, 116

135, 124, 130

136, 125

137, 120

140, 124

3776, 124

4910, 124

5510, 126

Dinolochus

1 K.-A., 256, 258–9

3 K.-A., 257

5 K.-A., 257, 262

7 K.-A., 257, 260

Diodorus Siculus

1.4.4, 363

4.61.4, 138

4.68.3, 138

4.78.3, 138

4.84.4, 285

5.6.1, 61

5.6.5, 65

5.6.6, 57

6.6.7, 53

13.44.1–4, 92

14.9.9, 145

INDEX LOCORUM

- 14.53.2–4, 120
 16.69.4, 138
 21.18, 139
- Ennius
Ann. 477, 136
- Epicharmus
 8 K.-A., 256, 259
 9 K.-A., 67n83
 10 K.-A., 67n83
 37 K.-A., 256
 67 K.-A., 256
 99 K.-A., 262
 102 K.-A., 256, 260
 107 K.-A., 256, 257–8
 118 K.-A., 256, 261
 134 K.-A., 67n83
 138 K.-A., 256
 139 K.-A., 257
 180 K.-A., 68–9
 242 K.-A., 256, 260
 243 K.-A., 257, 259–60
 289 K.-A., 256
 290 K.-A., 256
- Fabius Pictor
 fr. 1, 63
- Favorinus
 95.24, 284
- Festus
 204.28, 134
- Hellanicus
FGH 4 79, 56
FGH 4 111, 90
- Herodotus
 6.22, 52
 7.154.2, 26
 7.170, 52
- Homer, *Odyssey*
 20.383, 51
 24.211, 5InIO
 24.307, 5In9
 24.366, 5InIO
 24.389, 5InIO
- IG XIV
 276, 38
 277, 38
- 297, 316
 354, 309
 431, 352
 455, 350
- IGDS I
 36, 155
 38, 36, 83, 85,
 150–61
 124, 241
 176, 77
 196, 242–3, 247
 207, 238–9
 213, 155
 216, 155
- IGDS II
 80, 37, 44, 243–4,
 305–8
- IGPalermo
 106, 237
- ILPalermo
 7, 300
 73, 303
- ILLRP
 279, 311
 1277, 302
- IMCCatania
 11, 350
 27, 332
 228, 356
- ISicMG II
 14, 197–8
- ISicMG III
 34, 195
- KAI
 173, 115
- Moeris
 197, 262
- Philistus of Syracuse
FGH 556 F 46, 26, 62
- Phrynichus
Ecl. 197 Fischer, 253
Ecl. 231 Fischer, 253
Ecl. 332 Fischer, 254
Ecl. 419 Fischer, 257
- Pliny
Nat. 29.13 134

INDEX LOCORUM

- Plato
Epist. 8.353e, 60, 132–3, 146,
147
- Polybius
11.25.9, 258
12.26b.4, 281
- SEG
XXII 837, 309
XXXIV 952, 244
LVII 905A, 219
LVII 905B, 220
- Sophocles
fr. 1065 Pearson, 255
- Sophron
51 K.-A., 256
62 K.-A., 67n83
71 K.-A., 67n83
76 K.-A., 256, 259
134 K.-A., 69
- ST
Ps 11, 139
Ps 20, 137
Me 1, 140
Me 2, 140
tMe 3, 139
- Me 4, 140
Me 5, 140
- Strabo
5.4.8, 135
- Theocritus
Epigr. 18.1, 274
Id. 1, 284, 285
Id. 15, 265–6, 267, 269, 270, 276,
278–9
Id. 18, 285
Id. 28.18 283
- Thucydides
4.64.3, 281
6.2.2–3, 56, 61, 95, 118
6.2.4, 134
6.2.5, 52
6.4.5, 56
6.4.6, 56
6.5.1, 57
6.5.3, 26
6.6.2, 37
6.17.3, 57
- Varro, *L.L.*
5.101, 63